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Editor's Note: The President was in Racine, WI, on September 24, the closing date of this issue. Releases and announcements issued by the Office of the Press Secretary but not received in time for inclusion in this issue will be printed next week.

WEEKLY COMPILATION OF

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

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Week Ending Friday, September 24, 2004

Remarks in a Discussion on Women's Issues in Charlotte, North Carolina

September 17, 2004

The President. Thanks for being here. Go ahead and be seated. We've got some work to do here. [*Laughter*] Thanks for such a warm welcome here in the great State of North Carolina. It's nice to be back here. I'm here asking for the vote, and I'm here to ask for your help.

Gosh, there's a lot of people back there. Can you hear me back there? [*Applause*] That's good. Thanks for coming.

The first thing I'd like you to do is ask you to register your friends and neighbors to vote. And while you're doing that, don't overlook discerning Democrats like Zell Miller. And then after we get them registered to vote, when it comes voting time, head them to the polls and remind them if they want a safer America, a stronger America, a better America, to put me and Dick Cheney back in office.

Listen, we've got an interesting way to talk about some issues today. One of the things you've got to know is, I've got a reason to run again. I'm asking for the vote because there's more to do to make this country a safer place and a better place for everybody, a more hopeful place for those of us who live here in America. And so I asked some of our fellow citizens here to share some ideas, or to discuss some of the ideas I have about a new term. I think you're going to find it interesting. I hope you do.

Before I begin to talk with them about ways to make this country a more hopeful place, I do want to tell you that I lucked out when Laura said, "Yes." One way to maybe look at this race is, you can judge the nature of a fellow by the company he keeps. I'm keeping great company when it comes to Laura Bush. I'm proud of her. Listen, when I asked her to marry me, she said, "Fine, just so long as I don't have to give any political speeches." [*Laughter*] I said, "Okay, you won't have to give any speeches." Fortunately, she didn't hold me to my word. The other night the country got to see what I've seen in Laura for all these years: She's compassionate; she's decent; she's strong; she is a great mom, a wonderful wife, and a fantastic First Lady for our country.

I want to thank my friend Elizabeth Dole. She's a great United States Senator for the State of North Carolina. I want to thank my friend Robin Hayes. I appreciate you being here, Congressman. I'm glad you're here. Nice to see you, sir. Congresswoman Sue Myrick, she's here. Thanks for coming, Sue. It's great to see you. Richard Burr, is he here? Where is he? Burr, how are you? I'm in town not only to talk about my race; I'm in town to talk about his race. He needs to be elected to the United States Senate.

I want to thank Pat McCrory, the great mayor of Charlotte, North Carolina. Mr. Mayor, thank you for coming. Cherie Berry is with us today. We got some statehouse folks. We got Patrick Ballantine, the next Governor, with us today.

I want to thank the grassroots activists who are here today. These people put up the signs and do the hard work. I want to thank you for what you have done and what you're going to do, which is, coming down the pike, turn people out to vote. We carried North Carolina last time, and with your help, we're going to carry it this time.

I know Teresa Earnhardt is with us today. I'm proud you're here, Teresa. It's good to see you. Thanks for coming. There you are. Appreciate you being here. I was going to the NASCAR race in New Hampshire on Sunday, but I'm going down to help provide as much comfort as I can to the folks whose lives have been turned upside down by the hurricane that hit the coast so hard. I know it's affecting parts of North Carolina. We send our prayers to the people whose lives are being affected in your great State, and

we stand ready to help when this storm passes through.

I appreciate you all coming. Let me tell you something about what I believe. I believe Government should stand side by side with people, not try to tell people how to run their life. I believe the proper role of Government is to help people help themselves, not dictate to people. There's a fundamental difference in this campaign in philosophy of Government. And in the course of the next days coming down the stretch, people are going to see a clear difference.

Today I also want you to understand I understand the world of ours is changing, and the fundamental systems of Government must change with the changing world. The Government of the—the society of ours has changed dramatically. For example, in the old days women used to stay at home. Now they're staying at home and working; they're inside the house and outside the house. That's a fundamental shift in our labor market. And yet, the labor laws haven't changed. So we're going to talk about flex-time and comp-time today, to help women juggle the needs of work and family. We want the labor laws to be family-friendly here in America. We want them to adjust with the times.

In the old days, you know, the dad or granddad worked for one company and one career, and today, people are now changing jobs and careers oftentimes. And yet, the worker training programs haven't adjusted with the times. If you've got a workforce where people are changing jobs often, you've got to have a worker training program that helps train people for the jobs which actually exist. And so we're going to talk about how to make sure the worker training programs here in America work.

See, what I'm telling you is many of the systems of Government were designed for yesterday. I'm running for President to make sure they're designed for tomorrow—our tax system is designed for tomorrow, our health care systems are designed for tomorrow, our pension plans are designed for tomorrow. I want to make sure Government helps people be able to realize their dreams here in the greatest country on the face of the Earth.

[*At this point, a portion of the President's remarks were missing from the transcript made available by the Office of the Press Secretary.*]

I already worked through one mike. [*Laughter*]

In order to make sure there's a hopeful society, we've got to make sure this economy continues to grow. Now, when you're out gathering the vote, remind your friends and neighbors what this economy has been through. We've been through a recession. We've been through corporate scandals. That meant some people forgot what it meant to be a responsible citizen. We passed laws that now make it clear we're not going to tolerate dishonesty in the boardrooms of our country. And we went through that attack on our country on September the 11th, 2001, that cost jobs. It affected our economy.

We're overcoming these obstacles. These are obstacles in the way for economic growth and vitality. We're overcoming them because we've got great workers, great farmers and ranchers, great small-business owners, and because of tax relief.

The economy has added 1.7 million jobs since August of last year. The national unemployment rate is 5.4 percent, which is lower than the average of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. The unemployment rate here in North Carolina is 5 percent. The tax relief we—the economic stimulus plan we passed is working. And so the fundamental question is, how are you going to make sure this recovery is sustained economic growth? I'm going to talk a little bit about that, if you don't mind.

First, we need an energy plan to make sure jobs stay right here in America. In order to make sure people can find work, this country must have an energy plan. I submitted one to Congress that said: We're going to encourage conservation; we'll use renewables like ethanol and biodiesel; we'll use clean coal technologies; we'll use technologies to explore in environmentally friendly ways for natural gas. But it's a plan that understands this: In order to make sure people can find work here in America today and tomorrow, we need to be less dependent on foreign sources of energy.

In order to make sure we have jobs here in America, we need to do something about these junk lawsuits that are threatening

small-business owners. In order to do something about making sure we got jobs here in America, we got to be wise about our regulatory policy. Many small-business owners fill out regulations. I can't guarantee you whether anybody in the Federal Government has ever read them. [*Laughter*] But I do know paperwork is costly.

In order to make sure jobs stay in America, we got to have wise trade policy. Now, we've opened up our markets for foreign goods, which is good for the American consumers. If you have more choices in the marketplace, you're more likely to get the product you want at a better quality and a better price. So what I'm saying to other nations is, "You treat us the way we treat you." That's why we were the first administration to invoke the China Textile Safeguard. That's why we were the first administration to file a WTO case against China. The message is clear: If you want to trade with us, you treat us fairly, because Americans can compete with anybody, anytime, anywhere if the rules are fair.

Two other things I want to tell you about in order to make sure jobs are here. See, I've got a six-point economic plan to make sure the recovery that we're witnessing is a lasting recovery, so people can realize their dreams here in America. Listen, a hopeful society is one not only that changes fundamental systems to help people, but it's one in which the economic vitality is strong enough for people to be able to find work or start their own business or have a chance to realize their dreams.

Now, we got to be wise about how we spend your money in Washington if we're going to make sure this economy continues to grow. Here's my view of things. We're going to set priorities, and then we're going to let you keep as much money as we possibly can. Because once the Federal Government meets those priorities, I think you can spend your money better than the Federal Government can.

To make sure this economy grows, we got to keep your taxes low. We're going to talk to a small-business owner here in a minute, a woman-owned business. One of the most amazing—one of the most important changes that has taken place in this changing world is that there are 10 million women-owned businesses here in America. What a phenomenal change in society, isn't it?

I think tax policy ought to encourage the formation of women-owned businesses, and I think tax policy ought not to harm women-owned businesses. Do you realize most businesses today—small businesses are Subchapter S corporations or limited partnerships, which means they pay tax at the individual income-tax level? So when you cut individual income taxes, you're really helping small businesses. You're helping women-owned small businesses.

I think raising taxes on small businesses would be a mistake. It would hurt our economy. I'm running against a fellow who's promised $2.2 trillion in new Federal spending so far, and we haven't even got to the stretch run yet. So they said, "How are you going to pay for it?" He said, "Oh, that's simple. We'll just tax the rich." You run up the top two brackets of the individual income taxes, you're taxing about a million small businesses here in America. Seventy percent of new jobs in America are created by small businesses, and you're taxing the job creators.

That doesn't make any economic sense. You've heard the talk before, haven't you, "We're just going to tax the rich." Yes. The rich hire accountants and lawyers, so you get stuck with the bill. You can't tax the rich enough to pay for $2.2 trillion of new spending. There's a tax gap. And guess who gets stuck with that tax gap? You do. But we're not going to let him tax you, because we're going to win in November.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Okay. Thank you. We've got work to do here.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. We've got a little work to do. Thanks. I told you one of the most amazing statistics is the fact there's 10 million small-business owners. I think, in the State of North Carolina, I think 45 percent of the small businesses are owned by women. That is an incredibly hopeful statistic, isn't it? It's a fantastic statistic.

See, when I talk about a changing world, that's what I'm talking about. And so we got one of those entrepreneurs with us today.

Stewart Gordon is with us, a businessowner, The Buttercup, Inc. What do you do?

Stewart Gordon. We're a gift and stationery shop, and we started 29 years ago, five women with an investment of $500 each—only in America.

The President. Wait a minute. You're obviously still in business.

Ms. Gordon. We are. We're still going strong.

The President. Do you have employees?

Ms. Gordon. We have 37 talented women that work with us. We own our own building, and we have a good time. It's a nourishing environment, not only for us, our staff, but also for our customers. We are true "steel magnolias." So with determination and a little hard work, The Buttercup is strong.

The President. Good. The Buttercup is a Subchapter S corporation. That means they pay tax at the individual income-tax level, and so when you hear them coming out of Washington saying, "Oh, we're just going to tax the rich," keep The Buttercup in mind. See, when they run up the top two brackets, companies like The Buttercup get affected. And if they start taking money out of The Buttercup's coffers, it's less likely the women who work there are going to be able to keep their jobs.

How many people did you hire this year, do you know?

Ms. Gordon. We hired six.

The President. Six people. See, that's what's happening in the economy. Six people hired by this small business here, six there. This economy is growing because the small-business sector is strong. Tax policy ought to help women-owned business, not hurt women-owned businesses. Let's talk about flex-time, do you want to?

[*Ms. Gordon made further remarks.*]

The President. See, Federal labor law—[*applause*]—hold on for a minute—labor law prevents there to be maximum of flex-time. The labor law is stuck in the past. It was written when women stayed at home. The world has changed. We've got women now working in the house and out of the house, like I said, and that's good for our economy. But the labor laws need to adjust to allow moms to be able to juggle the needs of the workplace and the family. I'm running again because I want to change systems of Government that prevent people from realizing their dreams.

If you make it easier for a mother—or a father, for that matter—to be a good mom or a dad, it's more likely they're going to be a better employee and have a higher quality of life.

Good job. Are you ready? Yes, she's ready. Frances, you're ready. My old buddy Frances. We met before.

One of the things we've changed is to change this concept of Government—getting people dependent upon Government. We changed welfare laws in a more compassionate way, as far as I'm concerned. We made the system more compassionate so as to help people realize their dreams.

And Frances Cunningham is with us—my old buddy, right?

Frances Cunningham. I'm here.

The President. Until I asked her to come on the stage. [*Laughter*] Mother of two.

Ms. Cunningham. Yes. Can you hear me?

The President. Oh, yes, they can hear you loud and clear.

[*Ms. Cunningham made brief remarks.*]

The President. You're doing good.

Ms. Cunningham. Thank you.

The President. Frances is a great story, you know. She was on welfare. They have a great welfare department here. They said, "Let's help—let's help somebody help themselves." That's what I'm telling you about. We're changing systems so people have a chance to realize dreams.

Now what she's saying, she wants to go to the next level. Hopefully, somebody is listening out there in the camera that says, "Wait a minute, maybe Frances could make a"——

Ms. Cunningham. And I have been promoted on my job, and it just opened up a lot of doors for me. And I'm sure a lot of women out here understand, you know, when you have to depend on the Government to help you, that is fine for a while—to help you get your life in order. And it's been great. And I just encourage business to just help one another and help people and

help us to become better citizens out here and mothers and fathers, you know?

The President. That's good. You're doing great. Listen, she has the hardest job in America, though. I want you to know she's got the toughest job in America—a single mother is the toughest job in America. And we need to help. And I appreciate you, you did great.

I want to talk to Kema Jenkins. We're going to talk to Kema right now——

Ms. Cunningham. Can I say one more thing?

The President. Absolutely. You've got the mike and it's still on.

Ms. Cunningham. I just want to thank my supervisor.

The President. Where is your supervisor?

Ms. Cunningham. That's her, right there.

The President. Good job. Thanks for coming.

Ms. Cunningham. She's been very supportive.

The President. Appreciate you being here.

Ms. Cunningham. Give her a handshake for me.

The President. Handshake right now? Well, let me finish the thing here. [*Laughter*]

Ms. Cunningham. Okay. All right. Thank you. And Mr. Jacobson, he's not here, Department of Social Service director. He's been like a mentor.

The President. That's good. See, people can make a difference in somebody's life. We can change one America one heart and one soul at a time if somebody just takes time out of their life to love a neighbor like you'd like to be loved yourself.

Are you ready, Kema? I told you one of the real challenges we have is to help people have the skills necessary to fill the jobs of the 21st century. We've got a really interesting story here in Kema Jenkins. She is a—she's a good soul who—well, tell us. You used to work for?

Kema Jenkins. A textile company. That is now——

The President. Yes. You don't want to say its name? No? Okay. Pillowtex—I will. [*Laughter*]

[*Ms. Jenkins made brief remarks.*]

The President. Let me—if I can help say what you just said. Look, the Government needs to help people gain the skills necessary to fill jobs. I know what it's like here with the textile industry, and so do you. It's been hit hard. But the amazing thing about your economy is that it is diversifying. There are health care jobs available. And the Government, I think, has a responsibility to help people like Kema gain the skills necessary to fill the jobs of the 21st century.

Nobody likes jobs going away. But there's new opportunity. In a changing economy like ours, there are new opportunities for people. When an economy changes it certainly creates dislocation, and I understand that. And that's not good. But what is good is that jobs are replaced with higher paying jobs so long as the people have the skill set necessary to fill the jobs. And that's what we're talking about here. Women need help. If they get laid off from work, they need help. That's why I'm such a big believer in the community college system, in helping people go back and gain the skills.

You can't say—Government can't pass a law that says Kema has got to go back to school. She's got to make up her own mind. She said, "I want to embetter myself," and "Is there a place to find help?" I think it's a legitimate use of your taxpayer—of your money, is to help somebody like Kema be able to realize dreams in the workplace.

Now, let me ask you something. One of the interesting things about education—I didn't see you all over there; that's the end zone. Okay, never mind.

One of the interesting things about education is that as you increase your skill level, you increase your productivity. It means you're a more productive worker. And when you become more productive, you make more money. One of the interesting things about a changing economy is that our workers are more productive than ever before. That means instead of using a hoe, you use a backhoe. Or instead of using, you know, a regular old standard typewriter, you use a computer. In other words, that's an example of becoming more productive.

But that creates a challenge for us. It creates a challenge for us in our society because the more productive workers become, the

faster the economy has to grow so people can find work. That's why my six-point plan is essential to making sure people in a productive world can find work.

So you worked there for Pillowtex for a while and—so what's the difference in pay? I'm not—maybe not exactly numbers. More, less, same?

Ms. Jenkins. I'm going to be making more this year than I've made the past 21 years at Pillowtex.

The President. Yes. See, that's the great opportunity for women. It's the great opportunity for women in the workplace. If you can help a person with the skill set necessary to work, help them become more productive, they make more money. She's making more money in the beginning of a new career than she made at the end of her other career.

And that's what's happening all around America. That's why it's important for us to change fundamental systems to help women—and men, for that matter—realize their dreams. And that's what we're talking about. It's helping people. It's a difference of philosophy. As opposed to saying, you know, "You will be dependent on Government," or, "You will do this, or you will do that," my philosophy says, "Can we help you, and can we help you help yourself." In a changing world, helping people help themselves creates a more hopeful America.

Let me talk about health care right quick. It's an issue in this campaign. There is a fundamental difference between what I believe and my opponent believes when it comes to health care. I believe the best health care decisions are made by doctors and patients. I believe it is essential that the Federal Government does not run your health care.

And I put out some practical plans to help people. Do you know that about 50 percent of the working uninsured work for small businesses? And the reason why they're uninsured is because small businesses have trouble purchasing affordable health care for their employees. And yet, most small-business owners want to purchase affordable health care for their employees. I see a lot of the women businessowners here nodding. They—the best way to help small businesses and their employees and their families is to allow small businesses to pool together, to bind together across jurisdictional boundaries so they can buy insurance at the same discounts that big businesses get to do.

Those are called association health plans. My opponent is against them. I think they make a lot of sense. Government should help people solve problems. The—health savings accounts are a very interesting way for people to save money when it comes to health care and to help small businesses afford insurance for their employees. Health savings accounts are basically catastrophic plans with a high deductible and that the employer and employee contribute, based upon the contractual arrangement, tax-free money into an account. So, in other words, if you've got—say, the insurance company will pay for everything over $2,000, you cover from zero to 2,000 either as a contribution to your employee or the employee puts it in, and it's your money. And if you spend the 2,000, you replenish next year. If you spend nothing on your health care because you're a good exerciser, you make good choices, you've been lucky, things went well, that 2,000 is your money. It earns interest tax-free. You carry it over from one year to the next, and then you've got a nest egg for the next year.

And basically what it says is, it says that people make decisions on health care, not some faceless bureaucrat. It means that you've got a chance to control this health care plan. In a changing world, people change jobs and careers quite often, which means you take your health savings account with you wherever you go.

To make sure health care is available and affordable, we're going to spend some money to make sure that children who are eligible for the low-income health programs at the government level get signed up. See, there's too many of the kids not signing up what they call SCHIP. It's a good program, and we ought to encourage families to take advantage of the low-income health programs for our children.

I also want to tell you another interesting idea. Actually, we're doing it right now. To make sure health care is available for all of us, we're going to expand community health centers. Now, community health centers are places where the indigent and the poor can get primary care and preventative care. It's

a good use of your money to expand community health centers. It's better that people get this kind of care and get this kind of care at a community health center and not in an emergency room of a local hospital. And so, in a second term, we will expand community health centers to every poor county in America.

Two other things on health care I want to talk about—want to talk about Medicare. I went to Washington to fix problems, not pass them on to future Presidents and future generations. We had an issue in Medicare. We had an issue in Medicare. A lot of senior women were affected by a Medicare system that hadn't modernized. People say, "What are you talking about?" I say, "Well, Medicare would pay for the $100,000 for the heart surgery but would not pay for the prescription drugs that might prevent the heart surgery from being needed in the first place." That didn't make any sense. It didn't make any sense for Medicare recipients. It didn't make any sense for taxpayers.

And so we're modernizing the system. They've got drug discount cards now available for our seniors. I urge our seniors to look at the drug discount card. People are having great savings when it comes to prescription drug coverage, particularly our poor seniors, because we're helping them with the purchase of drugs. In 2005, there will be preventative screenings paid for by Medicare for the first time ever in the system. It helps us solve problems by diagnosing problems early. And in 2006, our seniors will get prescription drug coverage, and the system makes sense.

And finally, we've got a healer with us today, a doc, Andrea Torsone. One reason why it's hard for small businesses to afford health care, one reason why your health care costs are going up, one reason why docs are becoming less available for people is because these junk lawsuits are beginning to hurt the health-care industry significantly. If you're a doctor and you're getting sued all the time or your neighbor is getting sued all the time, you're going to practice defensive medicine so that you can defend yourself in a court of law. That costs—practicing of defensive medicine, in other words, you're prescribing more than you need to do; you're just doing the extra X ray here or extra test there—that costs the Federal Government $28 billion a year, to practice defensive medicine. I mean, there is a direct correlation between these lawsuits and the cost of Government.

We need to do something about it. Too many good docs are leaving practice. Too many women are having trouble with keeping their ob-gyn. Particularly the ob part of the ob-gyn. And they're getting run out of business. I've talked to too many women who are pregnant, and they don't have their local doc because the local doc had to surrender the practice due to the high cost of premiums caused by lawsuits. And that's not right. That's not right. Good health care for women and good health care for every American depends on having a legal system that is reasonable. We need medical liability reform—now.

And this is an issue in this campaign. This is an issue in this campaign. There's a fundamental difference of opinion. See, I don't think you can be pro-doctor and pro-patient and pro-hospital and pro-trial-lawyer at the same time. I think you have to choose. I think you have to choose. My opponent made his choice, and he put a trial lawyer on the ticket.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I made my choice. I'm standing with the docs and patients. We're for medical liability reform in this campaign.

All right, Doc. You are a—what kind of doc?

[*Dr. Andrea Torsone made brief remarks.*]

The President. See, this is a problem. Here is a kind, compassionate soul who is obviously talented and went to school because she wanted to deliver babies. And the cost of doing medicine is so high because of lawsuits that she no longer does so. It's just one less person to help a woman, and it's—we got a national problem with this issue. She said her premiums have gone up 300 percent in a very brief period of time. That's because it's like a legal lottery out there, and you just keep filing these lawsuits, one after another. And it's happening State after State. Good people are saying, "I'm through. I wish I could practice. I wish I could heal. I wish I could help, but I can't afford it anymore."

And this is a living example of why we need medical liability reform in Washington, DC. Listen, I believe that this is a national issue. I believe it is a national problem. And I know it's causing our budgets to go up, and that's why I submitted a plan to the House and the Senate. It passed the House. It's stuck in the Senate because there's too many trial lawyers in the United States Senate.

I also want to share some thoughts with you about my most important duty, which is protect you and your children. That's the most important duty I have. Let me share some lessons I've learned from September the 11th.

One, we face an enemy that has no conscience. They—it's hard for us to understand people that will kill for the sake of an ideology of hatred, but they do. And therefore, you cannot negotiate with these people. You cannot hope for the best. You cannot sit down and maybe think, "Well, gosh, there's a chance we can rationalize with them." You cannot. And that's why our strategy in this Government is to find them in places around the world so we do not have to face them here—is to bring them to justice in foreign lands. [*Applause*] Okay, hold on a second. Thank you all, but not yet.

Secondly—I've got more than one lesson to share with you. Secondly, this is a different kind of struggle. It's a different kind of war. There are places where these people can hide and wait and plan. And therefore, I laid out a doctrine which said, "If you harbor a terrorist, you're just as equally—you're just as guilty as the terrorist." Now, when the President says something—hold on for a second—when the President says something, he better mean what he says in order to make this world more peaceful. I meant what I said. I meant what I said.

The Taliban ignored what we said. And thanks to a lot of really fine, fine soldiers, the Taliban is no longer in power in Afghanistan. And we're better off for it. The world is safer for it, and so is America. No longer does Al Qaida have a safe haven. See, these people are like parasites, and they try to find a weak host so they can eventually kind of become the host. And as a result of removing the Taliban from power, we're safer. These Al Qaida no longer have safe haven there. There's still some hiding in remote regions of that part of the world, and we're after them. Day after day, we're slowly but surely dismantling the Al Qaida network. Seventy-five percent of their leaders and associates have been brought to justice. Over the next 4 years, we'll continue to keep the pressure on. That's our duty to the American people.

But I also want to tell you what else happened in Afghanistan. This is a country where many young girls didn't get to go to school. When I talk about ideologies of hate, I'm talking about people that would not allow girls to be educated. That's part of an ideology of hate. Their mothers were taken to the squares of that country and whipped or killed in some cases, in the sports stadium, because they would not toe the line of this dark ideology. That's the way these people think. There is no freedom, in their view. As a matter of fact, freedom frightens them, freedom of thought, freedom of religion, freedom of speech.

Today, in Afghanistan—this is 3 years ago, which really isn't very long, when you think about it—3 years after these people were brutalizing much of that society, 10 million citizens, 41 percent of whom are women, have registered to vote in the upcoming Presidential election. Isn't that fantastic? Think about that. This is a society which has gone—which is going from darkness to light because of freedom. And we're better off for it. We're better off that Afghanistan is a free country. It helps us to have an ally in the war on terror there, as opposed to a place where the terrorists can hide.

Third lesson is that we must take threats seriously before they fully materialize. That's one of the lessons of September the 11th. It's a harsh lesson, but it's one we must never forget. Prior to September the 11th, planners and thinkers in Washington, DC, could see a threat and say, "Well, we don't have to worry about it because it could never come and hurt us." That's what we thought. It wasn't that way during the cold war, admittedly, but we had a plan, mutually assured destruction. But after the cold war, we thought we were safe, didn't we? If you really think about the time, 3 short years ago, we felt like we were protected. And so when we saw threats we could decide to deal with it

if we wanted to deal with it or not. After that day, every threat must be taken seriously.

In Saddam Hussein, I saw a threat. I saw a threat because he was a sworn enemy of the United States of America. He was our enemy. As a matter of fact, they were firing missiles—he was firing missiles at U.S. aircraft enforcing the world's sanctions. We had been to war with Saddam Hussein before. He had been to war in his neighborhood. In other words, he was a destabilizing influence. He had terrorist ties. Abu Nidal killed Leon Klinghoffer, if you remember. Remember that incident? The guy was in Baghdad, as were people in his organization. Zarqawi, the beheader, was in and out of Baghdad, and he had a poisons network in Iraq. He was a terrorist. Saddam Hussein paid the families of suicide bombers. Suicide bombing is a terrorist activity. He had terrorist ties. He also had the capability of making weapons of mass destruction, and he had used weapons of mass destruction. And the intelligence I looked at and the intelligence Congress looked at said he actually had them there.

So I saw a threat. And I went to the United States Congress and said, "We got an issue here that we're going to have to deal with." Members of the Congress of both political parties looked at the very same intelligence I looked at—the very same intelligence—and they remembered the same history I remembered, and they concluded that Saddam Hussein was a threat and authorized the use of force. My opponent looked at the same intelligence I looked at, and when they said, "Do you authorize the use of force," he voted "yes."

Before the Commander in Chief commits troops into harm's way, before the Commander in Chief looks a mom or dad in the eye and says, "I'm sending your son or daughter into harm's way," we must have tried all options—all options. And I was hopeful diplomacy would solve this problem. I was hopeful that we could diplomatically deal with the threat. And so I went to the United Nations, said, "We see a problem." They looked at the same intelligence I looked at. They remembered the same history I remembered, and with a 15-to-nothing vote in the United Nations Security Council, they voted to tell Saddam Hussein, "You disclose, disarm, or face serious consequences."

Now, I told you when I say something, you better mean it if you're the President. I think when international bodies speak, they better mean it as well. And they said this. Saddam Hussein, as he had for resolution after resolution after resolution after resolution, ignored this one. He wasn't about to disclose, disarm. So he didn't believe there would be serious consequences, I guess. As a matter of fact, when they sent inspectors in, the U.N. sent inspectors in, he systematically deceived them. And I knew he was deceiving them. So I have a choice to make at this point in time: Do I take the word of a madman and forget the lessons of September the 11th, or take action to defend our country? Given that choice, I will defend America every time.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Okay, hold on.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you all. Thank you all.

A couple of other things I want to share. Let me share some other things with you right quick. We didn't find the stockpiles we thought we would find, the stockpiles that everybody thought was there. But I do know that he had the capability of making those weapons, and he could have passed that capability on to an enemy. And that's a risk we could not afford to take after September the 11th. Knowing what I know today, I would have made the same decision. The world is better off with Saddam Hussein sitting in a prison cell, make no mistake about it.

Prime Minister Allawi is coming here next week. He's a tough guy who believes that Iraq should be free. And he cares about the hopes and aspirations of the Iraqi people. He is—I'm looking forward to meeting him. I think he's coming to speak to the Congress—I hope I didn't let the cat out of the bag. Everybody knows that? Okay, good. [*Laughter*] Hope he knows it. [*Laughter*] I'm looking forward to the American people hearing him. It's important that we hear from someone there on the ground who believes that

people want to be free, believes that the people of Iraq really want to be free.

Here's our strategy in both Afghanistan and Iraq. We're going to help the Iraqis hold elections. The Afghan people are holding their elections soon. There will be free elections in Iraq in January of this year. People want to vote. People want to participate. We're going to help train Iraqi police and army so they can defend themselves against the few who are trying to stop the dreams of the many in that country. We'll help them, and we're making progress. We're making progress. It's tough. Of course it's tough, because there are killers there who are trying to shake our will and shake the will of the Iraqis. It's tough on the Iraqi citizens. These people are indiscriminately killing because they want to cause us to leave, and they want the Iraqis to grow weary of trying to be a free society. Listen to Allawi. He'll talk about what it means to be free.

Once we get these folks trained and get them on the path to stability and democracy, our troops are coming home with the honor they earned. And I appreciate those in the United States military. I'm proud you all are here.

Here's the fourth lesson I want to share with you. The fourth lesson is, when we put troops in harm's way, they deserve the full support of the Federal Government, full support. That's why I went to the Congress and asked for $87 billion of support for our troops. And this is important funding, really important funding. As a matter of fact, it was so important that there was wide bipartisan support in the Senate and in the House. As a matter of fact, when I say "wide bipartisan support," I'm talking only 12 Members of the Senate voted against the funding, two of whom are my opponent and his runningmate.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. When you're out rounding up the vote, when you're rounding up the vote, remind people of this fact. Only four Members of the Senate voted to authorize the use of force and then voted not to fund the troops, two of whom are my opponent and his runningmate.

Now, you might remember, when they asked him, they said, "Why," and he said, "Well, I actually did vote for the $87 billion, before I voted against it." There's not a lot of folks in Charlotte, North Carolina who speak that way, I can assure you.

We've done hard work. We've done hard work. Because of the hard work we've done, this world is becoming more peaceful. I believe in the transformational power of liberty. That's what I believe. It's the heart of much of what I think, is because I believe liberty can change enemies to allies and change distressed societies to hopeful societies. I like to share with people my feelings about Japan. You know, Prime Minister Koizumi is a friend of mine. I like him. He's a good guy to talk to. And he is the Prime Minister of a country with which we were at war during my dad's lifetime. After all, he was there, as was your dads and granddads. Think about that. It wasn't all that long ago that Japan was the sworn enemy of the United States of America. We were fighting them. Young men went off to war, and a lot didn't come back.

And yet, after World War II, Harry Truman and other American citizens believed that if Japan became a democracy the world would be better off. And that was hard work, really hard work. You can imagine why. You can imagine the moms here saying, "What do you mean, working with Japan to make a democracy. They just killed—caused great harm." And yet, there was this unshakeable faith that liberty could change societies. And as a result of that unshakeable faith of a prior President and citizens of this country, I now sit down at the table with Prime Minister Koizumi talking about keeping the peace. Think about that.

Someday, an American President, whoever he or she may be, will be sitting down with a duly elected leader of Iraq talking about how to keep the peace in the greater Middle East. And our children and grandchildren will be better off for it.

Liberty can change societies. Free societies are peaceful societies. Free societies help change the world. I believe everybody longs for freedom. And I believe this not because freedom is America's gift to the world; I believe it because freedom is the Almighty God's gift to each man and woman in this world.

I'm here today to let you know I have a reason to seek the office again. I'm running to help transform systems of Government so people can realize their dreams. I'm running again to continue to lead so this world will be a safer place. I'm running again because I want to help spread the peace we all want. I'm running again because I have great faith in the American people and have great faith in the values that make us a great nation. I know where I want to lead. And I want to thank your help—for your help in helping us get there. With your help, we'll win a great victory in November of this year.

God bless. God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:01 p.m. at the Charlotte Merchandise Mart. In his remarks, he referred to Senator Zell Miller of Georgia, who made the keynote address at the Republican National Convention; Representative Richard Burr of North Carolina, senatorial candidate in North Carolina; North Carolina Commissioner of Labor Cherie Berry; North Carolina gubernatorial candidate Patrick Ballantine; Teresa Earnhardt, chief executive officer and president, Dale Earnhardt, Inc.; senior Al Qaida associate Abu Musab Al Zarqawi; Prime Minister Ayad Allawi of the Iraqi Interim Government; and Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi of Japan. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Proclamation 7816—National Hispanic Heritage Month, 2004

September 17, 2004

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

During National Hispanic Heritage Month, we recognize Hispanic Americans for helping to shape our national character and strengthen our communities. The warmth and vitality of the Hispanic culture are great gifts to America and are part of the unique fabric of our country.

Hispanic Americans have enriched our Nation through contributions in many professions and fields, including education, law, government, business, science, sports, and the arts. Since our Nation's founding, Hispanic Americans have served bravely in the United States Armed Forces, earning more than 3 dozen Medals of Honor and numerous distinguished military decorations for their leadership, courage, and patriotism. Today, Hispanic Americans in our Armed Forces, National Guard, and Reserve units continue this proud legacy as they stand watch on the front lines of freedom. The hard work, values, and devotion to community of Hispanic Americans set a positive example for all Americans.

Across our country, we are working to continue helping Hispanic Americans realize the great promise of America. In 2002, I set a goal of increasing the number of minority homeowners by at least 5.5 million by the end of the decade. We are making good progress—having added more than 1.6 million minority homeowners so far. My Administration's business agenda and economic policies have helped create an environment in which Latino small business owners in the United States are starting new businesses and employing millions of people, expanding trade throughout the Americas, and generating billions in revenue. Through the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, we are working to ensure that schools are serving every student. In addition, we are committed to improving immigration services while strengthening national security.

I join with all Americans in celebrating the heritage, culture, spirit, and contributions of Hispanic Americans. To honor the achievements of Hispanic Americans, the Congress, by Public Law 100–402, as amended, has authorized and requested the President to issue annually a proclamation designating September 15 through October 15, as "National Hispanic Heritage Month."

Now, Therefore, I, George W. Bush, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim September 15 through October 15, 2004, as National Hispanic Heritage Month. I call upon public officials, educators, librarians, and all the people of the United States to observe this month with appropriate ceremonies, activities, and programs.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord two thousand four, and of the Independence of the United

States of America the two hundred and twenty-ninth.

George W. Bush

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11 a.m., September 20, 2004]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on September 21. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

The President's Radio Address

September 18, 2004

Good morning. Three years after the attacks of September the 11th, our Nation continues to confront the threats to our security. We're acting to protect the homeland, to track and disrupt terror networks across the world, and to hold to account the sponsors of terror. We're staying on the offensive, striking the terrorists abroad so we do not have to face them here at home.

Americans also know that our long-term security requires a broader commitment. Our country is determined to spread hope and economic progress and freedom as the alternatives to hatreds, resentments, and terrorist violence. In hopeful societies, men and women are far less likely to embrace murderous ideologies. And free governments will fight terrorists in their midst, instead of harboring them. We know that to create a safer world, we must build a better world, and we are acting.

This week, I will speak in New York to the United Nations General Assembly, and I will talk about the great possibilities of our time to improve health, expand prosperity, and extend freedom in our world. America and many nations are taking a bold stand in the fight against HIV/AIDS. My Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief will provide an unprecedented $15 billion over 5 years to support the fight against the AIDS pandemic throughout the world, with the focus on the most afflicted countries in Africa, the Caribbean, and Asia. These funds are already at work helping to prevent new infections, provide treatment and care for millions of victims.

We've also joined with other nations to create the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria. In 3 years, the fund has raised $5.6 billion in pledges and provided funding for projects in more than 90 countries. And we will persist in the effort until these diseases are defeated.

America and many other nations are also determined to turn the tide against global poverty by taking a new approach to economic development. It is now our policy to increase foreign aid to those governments that are serious about fighting corruption and improving education, health care, and economic opportunity for their people. Modern history teaches that honest governments that invest in their people and promote economic freedom can lift millions out of poverty and despair. And governments that truly serve their people deserve our help.

The health and well-being of developing nations also depend on the defeat of hunger and illiteracy. We have launched an Initiative to End Hunger in Africa by teaching modern farming techniques and providing drought-resistant crops to farmers on that continent. And through our Africa Education Initiative, we're training teachers, distributing textbooks, and encouraging more school enrollment.

America and many nations are also building a better world by standing with the liberated peoples of Iraq and Afghanistan as they move toward democracy. More than 10 million Afghan citizens have now registered to vote in next month's election. Iraq is approaching free elections in January. Terrorist enemies are trying to stop the progress of both those countries, and their violent and merciless attacks may increase as elections draw near. But all the world can be certain: America and our allies will keep our commitments to the Afghan and Iraqi people. Our long-term security—the safety of our children and grandchildren—will be served when the broader Middle East is home to stable, democratic governments that fight terror.

At the United Nations this week, I will make some additional proposals to expand prosperity and accelerate the march of freedom in our world. Never in the history of the United Nations have we faced so many

opportunities to create a safer world by building a better world. For the sake of our common security and for the sake of our common values, the international community must rise to this historic moment. And the United States is prepared to lead.

Thank you for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 7:30 a.m. on September 17 in the Cabinet Room at the White House for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on September 18. The transcript was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on September 17 but was embargoed for release until the broadcast. The Office of the Press Secretary also released a Spanish language transcript of this address.

Remarks Following a Meeting With First-Responders in Orange Beach, Alabama

September 19, 2004

Listen, thank you all for coming. Today I've been joined by Governor Riley and Governor Bush, Alabama and Florida, and Members of the Senate from Alabama, Sessions and Shelby, Congressman Jo Bonner, Congressman Miller from Florida, mayors from the affected areas, Mayor Russo, Bodenhamer, and Russell.

The devastation caused by Ivan is terrible. This was a big storm that caused a lot of damage and a lot of suffering. And I want to thank the people that are working hard to bring some sense of order in the lives of these citizens, folks at the State level and at the local level. I want to thank the FEMA workers for laying the foundation for what is going to be a recovery.

I was—I know people all across our country join me in praying for the families of those who suffered loss of life. I want to thank the search and rescue teams from all over the United States who are here, using every possible asset they have to find those who are still missing.

We understand thousands don't have power. I want to thank the power companies that understand that they have an obligation and a duty to restore power as quickly as possible. There are a lot of people working for the power companies, a lot of people stringing line from all over the southeast of our country. I want to thank them for taking time to come down here and help the people sorely affected by this terrible storm.

We toured the beaches in Florida and Alabama and saw how powerful this storm was. But the Governors and I fully understand there are people inland who have been affected. There are people in rural Alabama, small-town Alabama whose lives have been turned upside down by this storm as well, people in rural Florida who have been affected by this storm. And I want them to understand that when I talk about FEMA help, FEMA help not only extends to the beaches; it extends to people inland here in the State of Alabama and in Florida as well.

The amazing thing about these catastrophes is how the American people rise to the occasion. The amazing thing about devastation is how there is such compassion in the face of such devastation. When I was visiting with some of the residents, they were telling me the amount of—number of people that have showed up just to provide help, people that have heard a call to love a neighbor in a time of distress. And I want to thank all those who have come to provide help to a neighbor in need.

I want to appreciate our National Guard troops who are here for providing stability. I went to the National Guard bureau convention in Vegas the other day and quoted a woman from Florida, from the Punta Gorda area, who said it brought her such great comfort to see those who wear the uniform, and I appreciate you doing that.

I want to thank the police and firefighters from this part of the world, who have been working overtime, for their compassion, for providing stability so people can, at some point in time, get their lives back in order.

The Federal Government has a responsibility to provide aid as quickly as possible. FEMA Director Brown is with me today. He has done an excellent job on the two hurricanes that hit Florida earlier. He will do an excellent job on this hurricane as well in making sure that all Federal aid is coordinated well with the State and local governments, making sure all the aid that is available gets down here as quickly as possible.

I also want to assure the farmers from this part of the world, the nurserymen in this part

of the world that we will have a plan worked out to help you, that we have an obligation at the Federal level to provide assistance, and that assistance will be detailed so you understand what kind of help is available. As well we understand—fully understand that the highways have been affected here, that many of the roads are impassible. We're going to work with Congress to ensure that highways and bridges are repaired as quickly as possible.

I want to thank the—again, I want to thank the local officials for rising to the occasion. Most of all, I want to tell the citizens of this part of the world that we're praying for you, that we'll get help out here as quickly as we can, and that we ask God's blessings on you and your family.

Thank you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:01 p.m. at Orange Beach Fire and Rescue Station 1. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Bob Riley of Alabama; Gov. Jeb Bush of Florida; Mayor Steve Russo of Orange Beach, AL; Mayor David L. Bodenhamer of Gulf Shores, AL; and Mayor Tim Russell of Foley, AL.

Remarks in a Discussion in Derry, New Hampshire

September 20, 2004

The President. Thank you all for coming. I'm honored to be back. Please be seated. Proud you all are here. Thanks for coming. Hey, buddy, how you doing? Thank you. It's great to be back in New Hampshire. We carried it in 2000. With your help, we'll carry it again in 2004.

That's what I'm here to ask for, your help. I do need your help. I need your help to register your friends and neighbors. I need your help to turn people out to the polls in about 40-something days. Who's counting? [*Laughter*] I'm here to talk to you about making sure that you understand I have a reason to run again. I want to keep this country—I've got an agenda, a vision for a safer world and a more hopeful America.

This is going to be a little different from most rallies. This is an opportunity for me to talk to some of your fellow citizens here and to talk about how we're going to make sure America is a hopeful place, talk to some business leaders and people who went back to get job training, talk about tax relief. I'm also going to answer questions, which is kind of a New Hampshire tradition, if I remember correctly. And it's a great tradition. Traditional people take your politics seriously. Traditional people expect there to be a reason for running.

My only regret today is Laura is not with me.

Audience members. Aw-w-w!

The President. I know, a lot of people feel that way. They kind of wish I'd stayed home and she came instead. But she's doing great. She is a great First Lady. When I asked her to marry me, she said, "Fine, I'll marry you, but I don't want to have to give any political speeches." [*Laughter*] I said, "Okay, you got a deal." [*Laughter*] Fortunately, she didn't hold me to that deal. She gave a great speech in New York City at our convention. People got to see a strong, compassionate soul.

And I appreciate running with Dick Cheney. He's a great Vice President and a wonderful friend and a good partner. He doesn't have the waviest hair in the race. I didn't pick him for his hair. [*Laughter*] I picked him for his judgment and his sound experience. I picked him because he can get the job done for the American people.

I want to thank Governor Craig Benson. I hope you put him back in office. He's a good man. [*Applause*] I appreciate it. New Hampshire is an entrepreneurial State. There's a lot of entrepreneurs here in New Hampshire, kind of independent-minded people who, all they want is a chance to succeed. Craig understands that. He knows the role of Government is not to create wealth but create an environment in which the entrepreneurial spirit can flourish. I agree with him. And that's one of the many reasons why I hope you put him back in as the Governor of this great State. I appreciate you, Craig.

I want to thank Congressman Jeb Bradley. I appreciate you being here, Congressman. Good to see you. He's got a great first name. [*Laughter*] At least that's what the Governor of Florida thinks. [*Laughter*] And I want to thank my friend Charlie Bass. I appreciate you being here, Charlie. They're two really

fine Members of the United States Congress. Plus I'm pleased to be working with your Senators, Senator Gregg and Senator Sununu. They are great United States Senators, really good people too.

I had the honor of saying hello to Paul Needham today. He was the—a former Derry town councilor. He was the John Edwards for President cochairman. He's now a Bush supporter. I'm proud you're here. I appreciate you, sir. I'm honored you're here.

The campaign welcomes people from all parties. We welcome all the Republicans, independents, and discerning Democrats—[*laughter*]—people like Paul and Zell Miller, people who care about—proud you're here.

I want to thank all the grassroots activists. Good to see you. I appreciate your national committeeman being here, old Tom. He's a good man and a great friend. I want to thank the people who put up the signs and put out the yard signs and make the phone calls. I can't thank you enough for what you have done and what you're going to do as we're coming down the stretch. It's important to get people to the polls.

Ours is a changing world. When you think about it, when our dads were coming up, or my dad was growing up, or your grandfather was growing up, a man only had one job, generally, and one career, worked for the same company all his life. Today, the world has changed dramatically. People change careers often and change jobs, and women are working not only in the house but they're working outside the house. The nature of our workforce has changed a lot, and yet the basic institutions of Government have not changed. The Tax Code has not changed. Pension funds have not changed. Health care plans haven't changed. Worker training programs haven't changed. They were all designed for yesterday.

One of the reasons I'm running for 4 more years is so we can change the fundamental systems of Government to help people be able to realize their dreams. A proper role for Government is to stand side by side with people, not dictate to people. We have a fundamental disagreement in this campaign. There is a philosophical difference in the campaign. The proper role for Government is to encourage people to be able to have choices in life so they can realize their dreams, as opposed to creating programs where the Government tells you what you're going to do in life.

When you hear me talk about changing systems, let me start with Social Security. If you're a senior citizen, you will receive your Social Security check. I don't care what the politicians will tell you as they try to scare you into the ballot box. The promise of Social Security will be kept. And if you're a baby boomer, if you're a baby boomer, like me, the trust fund is in pretty good shape. But we need to think about our younger workers, our children and our grandchildren. In order to make sure Social Security is available for them, I believe younger workers ought to be able to take some of their own tax money and set up a personal savings account, not only to help fulfill the promise of Social Security, but a personal savings account they call their own that Government cannot take away.

I think our labor laws ought to change to recognize the changing times we're in. The labor laws were designed for yesterday. I believe workers ought to be allowed to have flex-time and comp-time so moms are able to juggle the demands of family and the demands of work. Government ought to be—have family-friendly work laws, not work laws designed for yesterday.

When I'm talking about changing systems, I'm talking about making sure that systems such as the Tax Code does its job. And one way the Tax Code can do its job—the job is to collect enough revenues in a fair way to meet the priorities of Government without complicating lives. I believe the Tax Code we have is a complicated mess. I believe it needs to be—I know it's full of loopholes. In order to make sure this economy grows, in order to make sure there's fairness, I'm going to lead a bipartisan effort to simplify the Tax Code.

In changing times, it's important to encourage ownership. If you own something, it brings stability in your life. One of the most hopeful statistics of the recent years is the fact that more and more people are now owning their own home. Think about that. Homeownership is at an alltime high in America today. That's important. We got a

plan to make sure it continues that way. I want more and more people from all walks—I want to close the minority homeownership gap in this country, and we've got a plan to do that. There's nothing better than a fellow citizen opening up their door and saying, "Welcome to my home. Welcome to my piece of property."

When it comes to health care, the system ought to have a—be a patient and doctor-centered system, as opposed to a system of Federal bureaucrats. That's why I'm a big believer in health savings accounts. Health savings accounts are a tax-free way for individuals to be able to take care of catastrophic needs and, at the same time, be in charge of health care decisions. And as well health savings accounts allows a worker to take their own account from job to job, career to career.

If you own something, you have a better chance of controlling your destiny. What I'm telling you is, is that over the next 4 years I will work to change the fundamental systems of our Government so that people have more choices and more opportunities to be able to realize their dreams and the great promise of the United States of America.

Now, look, I recognize that a hopeful society is one in which this economy has got to continue to grow. And when you're out there gathering the vote, you need to remind our fellow citizens what this economy has been through. The stock market started going down before I got into office. As soon as we show up, we have a recession—[*laughter*]—which is three quarters negative growth. We started to come out of that, and we discovered that some of our citizens forgot what it meant to be a responsible America. See, when I say we usher in a period of personal responsibility, I'm talking about CEOs in corporate America that have a responsibility of telling the truth to their shareholders and their employees. The fact that people didn't tell the truth affected our economy. It affected the confidence of people. We sent messages loud and clear now: We're not going to tolerate dishonesty in our boardrooms. Thirdly, those attacks hurt us. Make no mistake about it, the attacks on our country affected our economy.

And yet, we've overcome these obstacles. This economy of ours is growing. As the Governor said, your unemployment rate is low. People are working in this State. The national unemployment rate is 5.4 percent. That's lower than the average of the 1970s, the 1980s, and the 1990s. That's okay. That's good. We're doing fine. Except the question is, how do we keep it going? That's the fundamental question of this campaign. What does it take——

Audience member. [*Inaudible*]

The President. What does it take to make sure this recovery is sustained recovery, so that the economy is a hopeful place? I'll tell you what we need to do. We need to make sure we have reliable energy supplies. If we want this economy to grow, we've got to make sure that you can afford energy at reasonable prices. That means we've got to encourage conservation, the use of renewable sources of energy, using our technologies to make sure we can burn coal in an environmentally friendly way, explore for natural resources in an environmentally friendly way. In order to make sure jobs are available today and tomorrow, we need to be less dependent on foreign sources of energy.

Listen, in order to make sure this economy stays strong and people can keep working here in New Hampshire, we've got to open up markets to U.S. products. There's a tendency in this country to say, "Oh, it's tough out there, so let's have economic isolationist policies." I strongly reject that. We've opened up our markets, and it's good for you. It's good for the consumers. If you've got more products to choose from, you're likely to get that which you want at a better price and higher quality. That's how the marketplace works. So what I'm saying to places like China is, "You treat us the way we treat you. We've opened up our markets. You open up yours." That's why we filed a WTO case against them. That's why we filed anti-dumping edicts against them. We're enforcing the laws, because I believe we can compete with anybody, anytime, anywhere, if the rules are fair.

If you want to have jobs continue to grow, our society must do something about excessive regulation and all the lawsuits. You know, ask these employers, large and small,

what it's like to live in a society where they're constantly afraid of being sued. We need legal reform in this country if we expect to keep jobs here in America.

And finally, in order to make sure we have jobs here, we've got to be wise about how we spend your money, and we've got to keep your taxes low. And taxes are an issue in this campaign, make no mistake about it. I'm running against a fellow who's promised over 2.2 trillion new dollars of Federal spending so far, and that's a lot even for a guy from Massachusetts.

So they said, "How are you going to pay for it?" That's a legitimate question, isn't it? "All these promises, how are you going to pay for it?" He said, "That's simple, just tax the rich." We've heard that before, haven't we? First of all, you can't raise enough by raising the top two brackets and paying for all the new spending he's promised. So there's a tax gap, which means somebody has got to fill the tax gap. That's you. Secondly, they say "tax the rich." The rich hire lawyers and accountants for a reason, to kind of move out of the way and let the tax bill go elsewhere. That's you. We're not going to let him tax you in 2005, because we're going to win the election in November.

Listen, let me talk to some of our citizens here to help make my points. Kathy Helm is with us today. I'm proud that Kathy is here. She's right there. Those are your little squirts? [*Laughter*] The guy has got him a good-looking car. What are their names?

Kathy Helm. Steven, Thomas, and Lauren.

The President. Yes. And how old?

Mrs. Helm. Four weeks, five, and two-and-a-half.

The President. Great. She's a—and what do you—you got your hands full.

Mrs. Helm. Yes, I do.

The President. You are a stay-at-home mom, you told me.

Mrs. Helm. Yes, I am.

The President. That's a lot of work. What's your husband do?

Mrs. Helm. I'm sorry?

The President. Your husband?

Mrs. Helm. Tom.

The President. Yes, he works——

Mrs. Helm. He works at Southern New Hampshire University. He's the A/V manager there.

The President. Great. One of the things we did when we provided tax relief was to help families. Tax relief helped with the economic recovery. If people have got more money in their pocket, they're going to demand an additional good or a service, and when they demand that good or additional service, somebody has got to provide it. That's how the marketplace works as well. And when somebody provides it, somebody is going to work.

And so the Helms family received—how much did you get in tax relief in '03—2,200 it says here—1,700, yes.

Mrs. Helm. Yes.

The President. I'll answer it for you. [*Laughter*]

Mrs. Helm. Thanks. Thank you.

The President. I know there's a lot of cameras over there. [*Laughter*] 1,700, is that right?

Mrs. Helm. Yes.

The President. Yes. That doesn't sound like a lot if you're in DC, I guess, when you're dealing with a lot of zeros; 1,700, I presume, means a lot to you.

Mrs. Helm. Yes, it does.

The President. Yes. So what did you do with the money?

Mrs. Helm. Well, we bought a dining room table, one thing.

The President. Yes, that's good.

Mrs. Helm. Just nice for our new house.

The President. Somebody had to make it.

Mrs. Helm. That's right.

The President. Help raise your kids.

Mrs. Helm. That's right.

The President. See, we raised the child credit to $1,000 a child. She's got three children. That helps. She said she's married; we reduced the marriage penalty. The Tax Code ought to encourage marriage, not discourage marriage. We created a 10-percent bracket to help families like the Helm family. In 2004, you're estimated to save 2,200.

Mrs. Helm. That's great.

The President. Is that right?

Mrs. Helm. Yes.

The President. Okay.

Mrs. Helm. That's what I hear. [*Laughter*]

The President. That's what I hear too. [*Laughter*]

So here's the point. I've asked Kathy to come for this reason. A lot of these tax relief—a lot of this tax relief is going to expire. By the way, this is tax relief my opponent voted against. He voted against raising the child credit.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. He voted against lowering the marriage penalty. He voted against creating the 10-percent bracket. That's his history. He voted against it for a reason. See, he'd rather have the Federal Government spending the $1,700, as opposed to Kathy and her husband, Tom. That shows the philosophical difference we have in this campaign. I believe Government ought to set its priorities, fund its priorities, and trust people like Kathy to spend their money.

And if Congress allows this tax relief to expire, her taxes go up by a thousand dollars. That makes no sense for a family. That doesn't make any sense at all. Tell your friends and neighbors when they're headed to the polls, there's just a philosophical difference about who best can spend that $1,700. We believe the Helm family can spend it better than people in Washington, DC, can spend it.

Jim Bell is with us today. Appreciate you coming.

Jim Bell. Pleasure to be here, Mr. President.

The President. He said he's been training for this moment most of his life.

Mr. Bell. How am I doing so far?

The President. About as good as a Harvard man can be expected to. [*Laughter*] That's a cheap shot. [*Laughter*] Just kidding.

Mr. Bell. Okay.

The President. Listen, Jim is the president and CEO of——

Mr. Bell. EPE Corporation in Manchester, New Hampshire.

The President. Right. And what do you all do?

Mr. Bell. We are an automated factory that produces sophisticated electronics for about 20 customers in New England.

The President. Fantastic. A couple of points. Do you realize that most small businesses pay tax at the individual income-tax level? Most people don't know that. About 90 percent of the small businesses in America are Subchapter S corporations or limited partnerships, which means they pay individual income taxes. You are a——

Mr. Bell. We are a Sub S corporation.

The President. Right. And so the first point I want to make is he's—you're a job creator, right? How many jobs have you created?

Mr. Bell. This year, 17.

The President. Yes, 17. That's good, 17 jobs. Do you also realize 70 percent of all new jobs are created by small businesses, guys like Jim Bell. They're dreaming. They're expanding. They're taking advantage of the environment, and they're creating jobs—17 jobs. And yet, my opponent says he's going to raise the top tax brackets. Guess who "the rich" is in this case? This corporation, who is creating new jobs in New Hampshire. It makes no sense to tax Subchapter S corporations just as the economy is beginning to expand. Why would you want to tax a job creator? You know why? Because there's a fundamental difference. He wants the Government to be able to decide things for people. We want to free up people like Jim Bell to invest and expand to create more jobs.

One of the—so when you reduce all taxes, which we did, we helped Jim's corporation. But as well we put some incentives in the Tax Code to encourage people to invest. And did you take advantage of that?

Mr. Bell. Well, your tax incentives were terrific for us this year. We've invested $100,000 in new equipment and capability.

The President. That's good.

Mr. Bell. And with that incentive, we had tax relief of about $34,000.

The President. See, the Tax Code sent a signal to Jim: Invest. Now, what did you buy? Invest means buy. What did you buy?

Mr. Bell. Well, we're in the automated factory business. In this particular case, we invested in automatic optical inspection equipment, which is very sophisticated technological equipment.

The President. Right. And that's—two points on that. One is, somebody had to make the equipment. So the Tax Code—the tax plan—this economic growth plan we put out

said to Jim, this is—it's to your advantage to buy equipment for your company, and he did. And somebody had to make this sophisticated machine. And when somebody makes the machine, it means there's another worker who's likely to keep a job, maybe more than one worker. So his decision ripples throughout the economy. So the tax relief plan encourages new job creation, is what I'm telling you. But as well it makes his workers more productive. In other words, he is now more likely to be able to compete, I guess.

Mr. Bell. You bet, sir.

The President. Otherwise, you wouldn't have bought the machine.

Mr. Bell. As a matter of fact, the machine was made in the State of California, so we're trying to pump that up a little bit too.

The President. That's good, yes. But your workers——

Mr. Bell. The workers are far more productive, are more competitive.

[*Mr. Bell made further remarks.*]

The President. That's great. Because you're a good business guy.

Mr. Bell. I'm working at it.

The President. See, here's one of the challenges we face. You know, people talk about outsourcing. Of course, we want jobs here. The best way to keep jobs here is to make sure America is the best place in the world to do business. To make sure we don't raise his taxes, to make sure we do something about the lawsuits that plague him, to make sure health care is reasonable in cost, to make sure he can stay in business—that's the best way to keep jobs here in America.

Let me talk about one other thing—two other things. One, I talk about a changing world. He's talking about his workers becoming more productive. It means the same worker can do more. Now, if that's the case, one of the challenges we have, in order to make sure people can find work, is that you've got to keep growing this economy. As the worker becomes more productive, there is a need to make sure you've got pro-growth policies in place. And that's what a productive workforce does. But if you're a productive worker, you're going to make more money.

Mr. Bell. Absolutely.

The President. And that's what happens. So when you hear about productivity increases, it means he can compete. But it also means his workers are going to make more money, which is what we want. By the way, after-tax incomes in this country have risen since 2000. That means people have got more money in their pocket. That's what this administration is for. We want people walking around with a little extra money.

One final point. This is a family business.

Mr. Bell. Yes, sir.

The President. Yes. We've got a Tax Code that does not allow Jim and his wife to pass the business on to whom he wants. That's called the death tax. The death tax taxes assets twice. We need to get rid of that death tax forever, to make sure the entrepreneurial spirit is strong.

Thanks, Jim. Good job.

Mr. Bell. Thank you very much, sir.

The President. Excellent. Just kidding on the Harvard thing. [*Laughter*]

Jen Brier is with us. Jen, what were you doing—you were working as a—something. What were you doing before you went back to school?

Jen Brier. Before I went back to school I was working at a mail-order catalog company, opening mail.

The President. Good. Then what happened?

Ms. Brier. I went to school, and now I'm a registered nurse.

The President. Right. So a job was available, but it required a new skill. It's kind of hard to go from catalog-mail opener to nurse, I presume.

Ms. Brier. Yes, it is.

The President. So where did you go?

Ms. Brier. I went to the New Hampshire Community Technical College in Nashua.

The President. Right. Remember when I told you that worker training programs need to change? One reason they need to change—and to make sure they're relevant—is because the job base is changing. In changing times, new jobs are created with new opportunities and new careers available. But there's a skills gap in our country. If we want jobs to stay here in America, we've got to make sure that people like Jen can go back to school. That's why I'm a big believer in

the Pell grants. That's why we've got a focused effort on expanding our community college system here. Community colleges are able to design a curriculum to fit the needs of the local communities.

I know the Governor is a big believer in the community college system, and you found that, right? Did you know the job existed as a nurse before you went to school, or did you find out after you went to school?

Ms. Brier. That there was jobs in nursing?

The President. Yes.

Ms. Brier. Before I went.

The President. So somebody said, "All you've got to do is go back to school, and there's a job available for you"?

Ms. Brier. Well, I mean, you would look in the paper, and nurses were in demand.

The President. Good. They still are, right?

Ms. Brier. Absolutely.

The President. Yes, see, I want people listening out there to understand that if you're stuck in a job that you're dissatisfied with, there is money available to help you go back to school. How many people in your class to become a registered nurse? A lot?

Ms. Brier. Mine was a small class of, like, 12.

The President. Yes, so you didn't get lost, in other words. It must be kind of hard for some to go back to school—not for you, some.

Ms. Brier. Well, some people. I have a—we have a lot of older students that were graduating in our class. One of them was 52, who's now a nurse.

Audience member. That's not old. [*Laughter*]

The President. Yes, it's not old. Yes, now you're talking. But think about that. Seriously. Our society must provide opportunity for 52-year-old people who want to become a more productive worker. Education means that you become more productive and you make more money.

Ms. Brier. I do. My salary doubled.

The President. Yes, she goes back to community college, and her salary doubles. A changing workplace means that we have got to be smart about how we provide help for people to go back to community colleges. And we do it. We do it in the form of Pell grants. We've expanded Pell grants by a million students since I've been the President, and we do it in the form of loans. You're a loan person?

Ms. Brier. I did. All my school loans are from Federal loans.

The President. Yes, and it helps, by the way, that she saved $1,100 on income taxes as a result of the tax relief we passed. People say—now, you're going to get your master's degree?

Ms. Brier. I'm sorry?

The President. Somebody said—does it say here you're going to get your master's degree? Thinking about it?

Ms. Brier. I'm at the University of New Hampshire right now to get my bachelor's, and then I'll probably stay there to get my master's.

The President. This is fantastic. Learning is a lifetime experience, and Government ought to help people like Jen. Thanks for coming, Jen. I'm proud you're here. A more productive person makes more money.

Now, we've got Ken Holmes with us. He also is a job creator. And we're going to talk to him about health care. Let me say a couple of things about health care very quickly.

There is a philosophical debate—or philosophical difference, philosophical divide in this campaign. If you listen very carefully to what my opponent is saying, he's saying he's going to increase the role of Government in health care decisions. And I think it's a mistake. I really do. I think that leads to rationing. It means people get to decide for you what—that which you ought to be deciding for yourself.

We've got a different plan. First of all, it says we're going to take care of those who can't help themselves. I believe every poor county in America ought to have a community health center. That's a place for the indigent and poor to receive preventative care and primary care so they're not receiving it in emergency rooms and hospitals.

I believe we ought to make sure SCHIP, which is the low-income children's health care program, is accessed by everybody who is deserving of that program. We want to help these kids with good health care. I believe that we ought to continue the reforms of

Medicare. I went up to DC to solve problems, not to pass them on to future Presidents and future generations. We had a problem with Medicare. The system was not modernized. It would pay for $100,000 for heart surgery but not one dime for the prescription drugs that would prevent the heart surgery from being needed in the first place. That made no sense for our seniors. It made no sense for the taxpayers. We have modernized Medicare by giving seniors more choices, prescription drug cards, preventative care for the first time, and in 2006, prescription drugs.

If you're worried about health care costs in this country—and we should be—and if you're worried about availability for health care—and we should be—we need to do something about these junk lawsuits that are running docs out of business and running the cost of your medicine up. This is an issue in this campaign. It's an issue. A lot of ob-gyns are being run out of business. I've talked to many moms who had to drive miles to find an ob-gyn because their local ob-gyn simply couldn't stay in business.

I don't think you can be pro-doctor, pro-patient, pro-hospital, and pro-trial-lawyer at the same time. I think you have to make a choice. My opponent made his choice, and he put a trial lawyer on the ticket. I made my choice: I'm for medical liability reform—now.

And finally, we're going to help small businesses. Kenny Holmes is with us. Do you realize that 50 percent of the working uninsured work for small businesses? It says to me, if that's the case, we ought to help small businesses be able to afford insurance.

What do you do?

Kenny Holmes. I'm owner and general manager of North Branch Construction, a general contracting and construction management firm in the State of New Hampshire.

The President. Good. Building things. That's good.

Mr. Holmes. Yes, lots of things.

The President. That's even better. And health care is an issue with your company?

Mr. Holmes. It certainly is. We're an active member of ABC, Associated Builders and Contractors, our national association that has been pushing—I should say supporting your effort for association health plans for the last couple of years now.

The President. Now, here's what they are—that's the problem in Washington; we talk in words that people don't understand what they mean. Association health plans mean the small businesses can pool risk, can join together across jurisdictional boundaries, across State lines, so that there's a larger pool of people to insure. The more people you insure, the more risk you spread, the cheaper the policies, the less expensive your policies are. That's what we're talking about.

So in other words, he ought to be able to combine with somebody from—a company from Texas or a company from California in the same industry, and they can write insurance with large pools, see? Association health plans means small businesses will eventually be able to get their insurance at the same discount that big businesses can get their insurance. And that makes sense. If 50 percent of the working uninsured work for small businesses, why not allow small businesses to bind together, to purchase insurance in pools? I'll tell you why: Because people in Washington, DC, won't let it happen, is why it's not happening.

He's a big believer in association health plans, and so am I, because I want people to have insurance. I want small businesses to be able to stay in business.

Your premiums are going up?

Mr. Holmes. They have been for several years.

The President. Yes. Lawsuits driving them up, the fact that you can't bind together is drawing them up too—driving them up.

Mr. Holmes. No question. We spend $240,000 a year now for our 55 employees to have insurance, and their families.

The President. See, what we want is commonsense, practical plans to address the needs of people, rather than plans that empower the Federal Government to make your health care decisions. In all we're doing in this health care reform debate, we're saying the decisions ought to be made between doctors and patients, not between—by bureaucrats in Washington, DC. And it's a fundamental difference in this campaign, and it's

an important philosophical difference in this campaign.

Thanks for coming, buddy.

I want to talk about how to make America and the world a safer place. Then I'll answer some questions. Let me tell you some of the lessons that I have learned and the country must learn about the world we live in today. Our world changed, obviously, on September the 11th, 2001. We were confronted with an enemy that has no conscience, period. They will behead people in order to shake our will. They will try to sow chaos and disorder and try to affect our confidence. These people are ideologues of hatred. They stand for exactly the opposite we stand for. We stand for freedom of religion. They stand for a narrow view of religion. And if people don't toe the line, they will whip them in public squares. We believe in freedom of speech. They say, "If you speak wrong, you're in trouble." They're the opposite of what we believe in, and they use terror as a tool to shake our will.

You cannot negotiate with these people. You cannot hope for the best. Our strategy is clear: We will stay on the offensive against them; we will bring them to justice, so we do not have to face them here at home.

The second lesson is that this is a different kind of war, and these people will try to hide in countries. They're like parasites. Their desire is to take over the host. And so I issued a statement, a doctrine, that said, "If you harbor a terrorist, you're just as guilty as the terrorist." Now, when the President says something, he better mean what he says. In order to keep this world safe and secure, you better mean what you say when you speak. And you better say it so everybody can understand it. So I said, "If you harbor a terrorist, you're just as guilty as the terrorist." I was speaking to the Taliban at this point in time, and they ignored what we said. And thanks to a great military, the Taliban are no longer in power. [*Applause*]

Okay, a couple of other points—we've got too much work to do here. [*Applause*] Thank you all—too much work here. And so we went in and removed the Taliban from power. Now, remember, Al Qaida was training there. They trained thousands of killers. And Al Qaida no longer has a safe haven. They're on the run in that part of the world, and we're safer for it. We're safer for it. We're safer because people now are free in Afghanistan as well.

Think about a society just 3 years ago in which these barbarians were—they weren't allowing young girls to go to school. An amazing society, isn't it? Can you imagine growing up in a world—you can't—we can't possibly think that way in America. I told you, these people are just the opposite of us. We believe every human being matters, that every soul counts. And yet, young girls were not allowed to go to school. Their mothers were executed in sports stadiums if they stepped out of line.

Today, in Afghanistan, 10 million citizens, over 40 percent of whom are women, have registered to vote in the upcoming Presidential election. What a fantastic—and the world is better off for it. Nobody would have predicted that 3 years ago. Nobody could have envisioned after we went in that democracy would be on the march. Freedom is powerful. I don't care what your religion is. I don't care where you live. Freedom is a powerful concept. People long to be free in this world.

Another lesson of September the 11th, another lesson is that we must take threats seriously before they fully materialize. Prior to September the 11th, if we saw a threat, we could deal with it if we felt like it or not, because we never dreamt it would come home to hurt us. So if we saw a gathering threat overseas, maybe it's something to pay attention to; maybe it wasn't. Today, that world changed. Today, we've got to take every threat seriously because we saw the consequences of what can happen. We're still vulnerable.

So I looked at the world and saw a threat in Saddam Hussein. I'll tell you why I saw a threat. He was a sworn enemy of the United States of America. He had ties to terrorist networks. Do you remember Abu Nidal? He's the guy that killed Leon Klinghoffer. Leon Klinghoffer was murdered because of his religion. Abu Nidal was in Baghdad, as was his organization. Zarqawi—still in Baghdad, creating havoc in Baghdad, trying to stop the march to democracy is what he's trying to do right now, but he was there. Saddam Hussein was paying the families of

suicide bombers. That's support for terror. He was dangerous. He also used weapons of mass destruction against his own people and against a country in his neighborhood. Saddam Hussein was a threat.

We had been to war with him once. Many politicians prior to my arrival in Washington had said we better—it would be naive to the point of grave danger not to confront Saddam Hussein—that would be Senator John Kerry—"naive to the point of grave danger." I went to the Congress and said, "I see a threat." They looked at the same intelligence I looked at, the very same intelligence, and they came to the same conclusion as I came to, that Saddam Hussein was a threat, and they authorized the use of force. My opponent looked at that intelligence, as he had for many years, since he had been in Washington for a long period of time, and voted "yes" when it came to the authorization of the use of force.

Before the Commander in Chief ever commits a troop into harm's way, we must try all options. The decision to go to war is the toughest, by far the toughest decision I'll ever have to make. And I knew that. And that's why I went to the United Nations, because I was hoping that diplomacy would work. I knew we had to deal with a threat, but my hope was—is that, finally, Saddam Hussein would listen to the free world. And I stood up there, and I laid out the case, and they looked at the intelligence, and they voted 15 to nothing to say to Saddam Hussein, "Disclose, disarm, or face serious consequences." I believe when international bodies say something, for the sake of peace, they must mean what they say.

Saddam Hussein ignored the demands of the free world. This wasn't the first resolution he ignored. I think it was 17 resolutions—17 times the free world spoke. He wasn't paying attention, because he was hoping we would look the other direction, because he was hoping we would forget. As a matter of fact, it is documented that he systematically deceived the inspectors the United Nations sent in. Diplomacy wasn't working. The world had given Saddam Hussein a chance, a last chance to listen to the demands of the free world. And he made the decision, and so did I. I had to either trust a madman, or forget the lessons of September 11th, or take the tough decision to defend our country. Given that choice, I will defend America every time. [*Applause*] Thank you all.

Today my opponent continued his pattern of twisting in the wind, with new contradictions of his old positions on Iraq. He apparently woke up this morning and has now decided, no, we should not have invaded Iraq, after just last month saying he still would have voted for force, even knowing everything we know today. Incredibly, he now believes our national security would be stronger with Saddam Hussein in power, not in prison.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Today he said, and I quote, "We have traded a dictator for a chaos that has left America less secure." He's saying he prefers the stability of a dictatorship to the hope and security of democracy. I couldn't disagree more. And not so long ago, so did my opponent. [*Laughter*] Last December, he said this: "Those who doubted whether Iraq or the world would be better off without Saddam Hussein and those who believe we are not safer with his capture don't have the judgment to be President or the credibility to be elected President." End quote. I could not have said it better.

He also changed his mind and decided that our efforts in Iraq are now a distraction from the war on terror, when he earlier acknowledged that confronting Saddam Hussein was critical to the war on terror. And he's criticizing our reconstruction efforts, when he voted against the money to pay for the reconstruction.

Forty-three days before the election, my opponent has now suddenly settled on a proposal for what to do next, and it's exactly what we're currently doing. We're working with the international partners; we're training Iraqi troops; we're reconstructing the country,* we're preparing for elections. They're going to have elections in January.

Our work in Iraq is hard work. There are people there who want to stop the march to democracy. That's what they're trying to do. They want us to leave. They want us to

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* White House correction.

quit. Our work in Iraq is absolutely essential—Iraq—essential for our country's security. For our children and grandchildren to grow up in a safer world, we must defeat the terrorists and the insurgents and complete our mission in rebuilding Iraq as a stable democracy.

I'm going to New York after this, and in the next couple of days I'll be meeting with Prime Minister Allawi, the Prime Minister of Iraq. He is a strong and determined leader. He understands the stakes in this battle. I hope the American people will listen carefully to his assessment of the situation in his country. We must show resolve and determination. Mixed signals are the wrong signals to send to the enemy. Mixed signals are the wrong signals to send to the people in Iraq. Mixed signals are the wrong signals to send to our allies. And mixed signals are the wrong signals to send to our troops in combat.

A couple of other points I want to make. Any time we put our troops into harm's way, they need to have the full support of the United States Government—the full support. And that's why I went—and went to the Congress, and said, "We need $87 billion of money to support our troops in harm's way." These were for troops in Afghanistan and in Iraq. And I was pleased to get strong support. Bass and Bradley, they were strong in their support. Sununu and Gregg were strong on that support.

The support was so strong that only 12 Members of the Senate voted against it, 2 of whom were my opponent and his runningmate. When you're out gathering the vote, when you're out there gathering the vote, remind people of this fact: Four people in the United States Senate voted to authorize the use of force and did not vote to fund our troops, two of whom were my opponent and his runningmate.

So they asked my opponent, "Why? Why did you make that vote?" He said, "I voted for the $87 billion, right before I voted against it." That's not the way people talk here in New Hampshire. He went on and said, well, he said he's proud of the vote, and finally he said, "It's a complicated matter." There's nothing complicated about supporting our troops in combat.

Let me tell you what else I believe. I'm kind of winding down here, getting ready for questions. Let me tell you what else I believe. I believe that liberty can transform nations from places of hopelessness to hope, from places of darkness to light. We're seeing that in Afghanistan today. Ten million people registering to vote is a phenomenal statistic. It is such a hopeful number, isn't it, in spite of the fact that the Taliban were pulling women off buses and killing them because they were trying to register to vote. People want to be free.

I believe liberty can transform enemies into friends, because I've seen it firsthand when I've talked with Prime Minister Koizumi of Japan. I want you to think about this now, as you're contemplating the historic opportunity we have in the world today. It wasn't all that long ago in the march of history that we were fighting the Japanese as the sworn enemy—sworn enemy. My dad, your dads and granddads were fighting the Japanese. Yet after World War II, Harry Truman, Harry S. Truman believed that we should work to help Japan become a democracy. He believed that liberty could transform societies.

There was a lot of skeptics then, a lot of people who doubted whether or not the hard work that went into that—to changing Japan was worth it. You can understand that. First of all, there are skeptics in every society. And secondly, a lot of people in this country's lives had been turned upside down as a result of the war we had just fought, and they had trouble realizing that an enemy could become a friend.

But there were some people in this country who just refused to yield to the value that we know, that liberty is a powerful, powerful part of everybody's soul. And today, I sit down at the table with Prime Minister Koizumi—I'm going to be doing so here in the next couple of days in New York too—as a personal friend, but we're talking about keeping the peace. We're talking about how to make this world a more peaceful place. We're talking about the peace that we all long for. Think about that. Here I am talking to the head of a former enemy, working together to make the world a better place.

And that not only means helping Iraq get up on its feet; that means feeding the hungry. Do you realize, our country feeds more empty stomachs than any country in the world by far? That means helping those poor souls on the continent of Africa deal with HIV/AIDS. We're by far the most generous nation when it comes to helping people ravished by the pandemic of AIDS. We're working with people together to make this world a better place.

Someday—we will succeed in Iraq and Afghanistan by being firm in our beliefs, unyielding to the demands of those who want us to quit, those terrorists who are trying to kill people to get us to leave. That's what they're trying to do. We'll be successful. Everybody longs to be free. And when we are, we'll be able to look back and say, "The world is better off." Someday, an American President and an Iraqi leader are going to sit down, talking about keeping the peace, talking about how to make a part of the world that is so desperate for freedom become a more peaceful place. And our grandchildren and our grandchildren's children will be better off for it. [*Applause*]

Okay, what—not yet, not yet. The stakes are high. These are historic times. I clearly see where I want to lead this country. I know what we've got to do the next 4 years to make this country a safer place and the world a more hopeful place. And I appreciate you giving me a chance to come and explain why I'm running again.

Now, let me answer some of your questions, and then—yes, sir?

A Soldier's Letter

Q. I work at a local school, and two of the ladies' sons were deployed with the Marine Corps to Iraq. And they asked us to do something. So—I'm nonmilitary, myself, but grew up in a military family. My father served '41 to '68 in the National Guard too. I had local veterans—I sent out for shirts from the Marine Corps down in DC, and I had local veterans sign them, from World War II to Desert Storm, some of the names, Jim Panis—[*inaudible*]—U.S. Navy; Lieutenant Harold Heck, Mobile Riverene Force, Vietnam, Silver Star winner; a three-star general.

Anyway, Mr. President, I got this letter from one of our local boys. He'll be home October 2d. I'd like to read it to you.

The President. Okay. Thank you.

Q. You people think the last generation was the greatest. Wait until you hear this one. "Dear Mr. Hussey, Sr."—I'm a senior too, like your father. "The gift you sent me"—this is a 19-year-old kid, just out of Londonderry High—"Dear Mr. Hussey, the gift you sent me almost brought tears to my eyes. I want you to thank the men who signed it, who came before me, so I might have the opportunity to enjoy the freedoms of America. Now is my time to return the favor. I gladly serve, and I am honored to have a unique connection with the generation before me. War is something that no one can really understand unless they've served in the military and been in combat. Unfortunately, I have lost friends here, but I will never forget them and those who paid the price before them.

"The t-shirt you sent me is hanging right above my rack, and every day or night when I get back from patrolling or setting up an ambush site, if I feel tired, worn, hungry, I look at the names of those who took their time and, for some, their lives for this country of ours, and I feel renewed strength for the coming battles. Before I joined the Corps, people would ask me why I wanted to join, especially during a time of war. I replied, 'Men have died for this freedom that they believed in, and if we forget this privilege, they will have died in vain, and it would have been for nothing.' Especially now, with the loss of my buddies, I understand what they felt and what drives me as a Marine.

"Thank you again, Lance Corporal Jesse Braggin," who will be home October 2d.

The President. There you go. Thank you, sir. Thank you. I appreciate you reading that. Let me——

Audience member. We love you, President Bush!

The President. Thank you. I met with many families who have lost a loved one in Iraq and Afghanistan, and it's—you know, it's a hard part of the job, and it's a necessary part of the job. And I assure them that their loved one will not die in vain because we will complete the mission. And the mission

will make the world a better place. And that's what you've got to tell this guy when he gets home, that his service and the service of those buddies of his who lost their life were part of securing America.

Because, one, Prime Minister Allawi says we've got to defeat them in Iraq, otherwise we'll face them here. It's essential that people understand the world has changed. It's a different world we live in.

Secondly, that by helping Iraq become a secure nation, and by training Iraqis so they can do the hard work of defending their freedom against the few who want to stop the march to liberty, we're making ourself more secure. A free Iraq in the heart of the Middle East will make the world a more peaceful place. A free Iraq will set such a vivid example for women in the Middle East, who long for a chance for success. It will provide a vivid example for the reformers in the Middle East. It will say that here is the future for you. Free societies do not export terror. Free societies are allies in the war against these killers.

And you tell that guy, thank you for your service, and God bless him.

Men of Truck Number 2/Iraq

Q. Mr. President, my brother is in NYPD, emergency service unit, Truck Number 2. I just wanted to say—you mentioned the—his partner in the State of the Union Address. You mentioned his father, John Vigiano, and the two boys.

The President. Yes, I know them well.

Q. I just want to say, thank you, as being a beacon of strength at a time of need for our country.

The President. Thank you, sir. Your brother was their partner?

Q. My brother-in-law is Rob Beeger, Truck Number 2.

The President. Yes, yes.

Q. I've got a picture of them with you.

The President. What a great family. You're not going to believe this family. Two sons go in the rubble and don't come out. It's really important we never forget that day. It's just important. It's a part of our history.

You know, I—you've got a question, or do you want to keep going?

Q. I actually have a question for you as well.

The President. Okay, good. [*Laughter*] I was about to wax eloquently—[*laughter*]—or at least wax. [*Laughter*]

Q. Is that from the top of my head? [*Laughter*]

The President. See, you probably appreciate my comments about Vice President Cheney. [*Laughter*]

Q. I just don't have the curls, either.

The President. That's right. [*Laughter*] Go ahead.

Q. I hear a lot of things in the press in regards to what's happening in Iraq. I don't appreciate the fact that the press only presents a certain point of view. I hear different things, and one thing I've learned—I did a little bit of studying—I was wondering if you can tell me a little bit about Salman Pak. And we know about Zarqawi and how he's causing all sorts of problems in Fallujah.

And the other question I have real quick is, is that I watched a special on FOX News last night on the U.N., the oil for food scandal. And the thing is, is that when it comes down to the oil for food scandal, we have a lot of countries that opposed us at the very beginning of the war that have a lot of money staked in with Saddam. And I was just wondering if, when you address the U.N., do you plan on bringing it up to these countries?

The President. No. [*Laughter*] There is an investigation going on. Paul Volcker is leading the investigation, and it's best that the investigation run its course.

Zarqawi—look, here's the situation. It's tough as heck in Iraq right now because people are trying to stop democracy. That's what you're seeing. And Iraqis are losing lives, and so are some of our soldiers. And it breaks my heart to see the loss of innocent life and to see brave troops in combat lose their life. It just breaks my heart. But I understand what's going on. These people are trying to shake the will of the Iraqi citizens, and they want us to leave. That's what they want us to do.

And I think the world would be better off if we did leave—if we didn't—if we left, the world would be worse. The world is better off with us not leaving. It's a mistake to pull out. Can you imagine what Iraq would be

like today if Saddam Hussein were in power? It would be terrible for them, and we'd be dealing with a guy who had just totally ignored the demands of the free world. The sanctions weren't working. We know he had the capability of making weapons, and it was just a matter of time.

No, we didn't find the stockpiles we thought would be there. But his desire to make weapons and the ability to make them and the ability to work with these terrorist organizations was a threat we could not afford to take.

Secondly, if we put an artificial timetable out there on withdrawal, all the enemies says is, "We'll wait them out." Our mission has got to be to help to train the Iraqis, get them on the path to stability and democracy as quickly as we can, and then our troops come home, but to complete the mission. It makes no sense to pull out of there early. If we pull out of there early, Iraq will come even more dangerous. See, we've got to get it right in Afghanistan and Iraq, and we will. And now, it's a matter of will.

You asked me what's it's like there. It's tough. But Prime Minister Allawi is the best way to—the best person to talk to there. He said this is desperation by these people. They're watching TV screens too. They're watching the reactions of people around the world. They see countries pull out of Iraq. They saw what happened when one country pulled out after a citizen was beheaded. They saw what happened after elections in Europe. They know that people are—can grow weary of this battle. We've got to be firm and strong. I believe we're right in what we're doing. And I believe democracy in Iraq is going to happen, and I believe the world will be better off for it.

Yes, sir.

Freedom for Iraq/Marshall Plan

Q. My grandfather came over as a—an immigrant. My father was a career Army officer. I was a career Army officer. My son is a lieutenant in Iraq, cavalry platoon leader, fighting the war on terrorism right now. My—we have—well, first, all three of us, our three generations, fully support your foreign policy and the third world war we must fight against the terrorists.

The President. Thank you.

Q. Beyond that, the questions are, why don't either the Defense Department or the State Department provide a weekly briefing on all the good things we're doing in Iraq? It's not just fighting over there.

The President. Right. Now, look, what's he's talking about is the number of children who've been immunized. It's—a phenomenal number of children have been immunized—or the new schools that have been built and opened or the fact that power now is up to pre-war levels. I mean, there are positive developments going on in the world in Iraq, and they're headed to elections.

Look, Prime Minister Allawi has been—the sovereignty was transferred 3 months ago, and now they're going to have elections in January. Saddam Hussein wasn't about to have elections. And they're headed to elections. And again, I repeat, it's hard. It's hard because people—there are people who fear what freedom means. Remember, the ideology of these people is the opposite of what we stand for. They don't believe in elections. They don't believe in free thought. They don't believe in free religion. They don't believe in free press. And that's why they're stopping—that's why they're trying to stop the march of freedom.

And I appreciate that.

Q. The second thing is that I grew up in Europe when the Marshall plan was in effect. What I don't understand is why we don't remind the American people of the Marshall Plan and the amount of time it took to rebuild Europe.

The President. Yes, I appreciate that.

Q. We can't leave Iraq on a timetable that Senator Kerry says. We have to stay there until the job is done.

The President. I agree.

Q. We have to——

The President. No, I appreciate that.

Q. We have to say that this is our generation's Marshall plan, that we need that done, and that, yes, we are—many of our troops are having to sacrifice, but if we don't do it, the world will be a lot worse off place.

The President. Yes, sir, I agree with that, Colonel. Thank you very much.

Yes, ma'am. Here's your chance.

Chechen Terrorist Attack in Beslan, Russia/Domestic Security

Q. Hi. I was wondering, my friend and I go—we're seniors at Londonderry High School, and we are wondering what your plan is to protect our schools—like what happened in Russia—what your plan is for that.

The President. I appreciate that. Yes, what happened in Russia was so appalling, and it just crushed—it's such a crushing moment, when you think about it. It's really hard to envision people that way. But that's the nature of the folks we're dealing with. Obviously, look, every school has got to be on alert. Every school has got to be diligent. Every school has got to be ready to make a quick response to local police. Every school has got to be—just recognize the nature of the world we live in.

And what we're doing at the Federal level is we're trying to figure out who is coming in the country and why they're coming in the country, if they're leaving the country when they're supposed to be leaving the country. We're using the PATRIOT Act. Let me talk real quick about the PATRIOT Act. It's a tool that is now at the disposal of our law enforcement.

Do you realize, before the PATRIOT Act was passed that elements of the FBI couldn't talk to each other? The intelligence side and the operating side could not talk to each other about sharing intelligence. And I don't see how you can bust terrorist cells if you can't get your intelligence folks and your operators to be able to discuss things. We tore—the PATRIOT Act tore the wall down. Every action in the PATRIOT Act requires a court order, before the Government can move. In other words, your rights are protected.

The tools in the PATRIOT Act have been used against drug dealers for years. I believe we ought to extend the PATRIOT Act. I know—not believe it; I know we need to extend the PATRIOT Act, with the constitutional safeguards for our U.S. citizens. If it makes sense to use elements of the PATRIOT Act to chase down drug dealers, it certainly makes sense to use the PATRIOT Act to try to prevent the kind of horrible actions that took place on September the 11th and elsewhere around the world. And so we're doing everything we can to protect you. That's what we're doing. We're trying to find people before they get here.

The other thing we're doing is, the best way to protect the homeland is to stay on the offense, is to keep pressure on these people. We've brought 75 percent of Al Qaida to justice, and we're still working. Every day, we're working to find people

Yes, ma'am. Go ahead. Please, do.

Judicial Nominations

Q. In Stratham, I spoke with you very briefly, personally, and I just want to share with these people. My son came back from the 101st. He was a year in Iraq. And I trusted his life under your leadership. As Commander in Chief, I thank you for that. He is now going to school. He's in college. He just started this year, and the Government is paying for it. And I thank you for that too.

And I do have a question. My question is, as we—you have great courage because you stand on some platforms that are quieter than the war on terrorism, and that takes great courage. One is your value for life and your value for the institution of marriage.

The President. Thank you.

Q. My question—my question is what's—what's frustrating is that there are judges that are taking the law into their own hands. And what do you do about that?

The President. Well, that's when you appoint people that will not write law from the bench but strictly interpret the Constitution. That's what I have done. I put good people up. And you know, a lot of our judges got through, particularly at the district level, but they've held up a lot of really good appellate judges—"they" being a handful of Members in the United States Senate. They're playing politics with American justice. And another reason to put me back in office is because I'm going to knock back—knock it back down. I'm going to keep naming the people that I've told the people I'd name if I got elected President of the United States, so that there is proper balance between the executive branch and the legislative branch and the judicial branch.

Yes, ma'am. You've got a question there? Yes, you.

Stem Cell Research

Q. I wanted to say, first of all, wonderful presentation.

The President. Thank you. [*Laughter*] I'm glad you came. [*Laughter*] And more importantly, I'm glad I called on you. [*Laughter*]

Q. Second of all, I wanted—I promised my parents that if I got the opportunity, to send their warm and gracious regards.

The President. Thank you.

Q. And my brother, who's a corporal in the United States National Guard, is proud to be serving the country, especially under your watch. He will be leaving for Iraq in early November for the better part of 2 years.

The President. Two years?

Q. Well, 18 months is his——

The President. That's his call-up, for 18 months?

Q. Yes. So very proud. My question, and I hope I'm not out of place asking this because it's not as prevalent an issue——

The President. Okay.

Q. Stem cell research?

The President. Yes, let me talk about it.

Q. Please. I have, like, a very personal concern about that. My two cousins, my aunt's two only children both have cystic fibrosis, neither of them expected to live beyond 25. One of them is 22, and the other one is 20.

The President. I'm sorry.

Q. And—it's just a concern.

The President. I appreciate it. It's a very legitimate question. I'm glad you asked it because I'm the only President so far in our history, the first President ever, to have allowed Federal dollars to be spent on research on stem cells—on stem cell lines.

Now, look, let me tell you about this issue. It's a very sensitive issue because in order to create a stem cell line you have to destroy life. In other words, there's a—you take an embryo, and you destroy the embryo, out of which comes a stem cell line. And before I made my decision, there was some 70 lines in existence. And I felt that those lines would be ample enough to be able to allow science to go forward to determine whether or not stem cell research would yield the results we all hope that it yields. And so I agreed to allow Federal funding to go forward on existing stem cell lines so that further life would not be destroyed.

Out of those 70 lines, some 22 are functional now. And out of that 22 lines, there's over 300 different projects that are going forward. In other words, there is an active effort to determine whether or not embryonic stem cells will yield the results we hope they yield.

I'm also a big believer in funding adult stem cell research, which does not require the destruction of life. My hope is your hope, that out of the research that exists, that we'll be able to find cures for the diseases. And one of the things that this country will be confronted with over the next decades, particularly as technology advances, is we'll be confronted with very profound ethical decisions that are going to be important decisions.

Cloning, for example, will be a decision that we have to make. I mean, does it make sense to destroy life to create life, is another decision. These are all very valid decisions. And that's what happens when you're the President. You've got to weigh all the evidence, and you think clearly about your philosophy as well as the facts, and decide. And I decided. And I think my decision was balanced and fair, and it balanced good science with good ethics. Thank you.

Last question, then I've got to go. Yes, sir.

2004 Election

Q. Good afternoon, Mr. President, and welcome to Derry, New Hampshire.

The President. Thank you, sir. It's great to be back.

Q. I'm a retired chief petty officer in the United States Navy. And I can tell you from the observing of your unworthy opponent, I would not want to serve under him as Commander in Chief. I was directly involved in the Cuban missile crisis—I mean directly—serving aboard the U.S. aircraft carrier *Intrepid*, which is now the Naval Aviation Museum in New York. And I hope someday you'll visit. I'm a member of that organization. My heartfelt prayer to you, sir, is, stay the course and win the election in '04.

The President. Thank you, sir. I can't conclude on a better note. Thank you all for coming. God bless.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:52 p.m. at the SportsZone. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Craig Benson of New Hampshire; Senator Zell Miller of Georgia, who made the keynote address at the Republican National Convention; Thomas D. Rath, national committeeman, New Hampshire Republican State Committee; senior Al Qaida associate Abu Musab Al Zarqawi; Prime Minister Ayad Allawi of the Iraqi Interim Government; Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi of Japan; and Paul A. Volcker, chair, Independent Inquiry into the United Nations Oil for Food Programme.

Statement on the Final Report of the United States Commission on Ocean Policy

September 20, 2004

I commend the members of the U.S. Commission on Ocean Policy for their hard work and welcome their Final Report.

Our oceans sustain an abundance of natural wonders, enable the transportation of vital goods, and provide food and recreation for millions of Americans. My administration is working with every level of government, the private sector, and other nongovernmental organizations to advance the next generation of ocean policy. In order to foster more effective management and conservation of our ocean and coastal resources, my administration has launched and supported numerous innovative science, management, and policy initiatives. We have created a new integrated ocean observing system with international partners, embarked on deep oceans research with a state-of-the-art research ship, and advanced legislation to strengthen the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. We are also building an improved, market-based system to help restore our fisheries and keep our commercial and recreational fishing industries strong. Working with Congress and State Governors, my administration looks forward to building on these initiatives assisted by the work of the Commission.

Proclamation 7818—National Farm Safety and Health Week, 2004

September 20, 2004

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

America's farm economy is strong and growing. Farm income is strong, farm exports are at a record high, and my Administration is working to ensure that American farm products are sold all over the world. During National Farm Safety and Health Week, we reflect on the contributions of America's farm and ranch families and underscore our commitment to making our farms safer and to protecting our farm and ranch land.

The safety and health of our farm and ranch families are of critical importance. These Americans perform tasks that contain risks—they operate farm machinery, apply agricultural chemicals and fertilizers, handle large and unpredictable livestock, and work in places where dusts and toxins can contaminate the air. We must continue to raise awareness of dangers and proper safety precautions and equipment, particularly among our young people involved in agriculture. Through education and training, we can help save lives and improve the well-being of our Nation's farmers and ranchers.

Our Nation's farmers and ranchers help feed and clothe people around the world, and they are now helping provide more energy for the American people. By promoting a safer farm and ranch environment, we can strengthen our agricultural economy and build a more prosperous future for all our citizens.

Now, Therefore, I, George W. Bush, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim September 19 through September 25, 2004, as National Farm Safety and Health Week. I call upon the agencies, organizations, and businesses that serve America's agricultural workers to

strengthen their commitment to promoting farm safety and health programs. I also urge all Americans to honor our agricultural heritage and to recognize our farmers and ranchers for their remarkable contributions to our Nation's vitality and prosperity.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twentieth day of September, in the year of our Lord two thousand four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-ninth.

George W. Bush

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., September 22, 2004]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on September 23.

Executive Order 13357—Termination of Emergency Declared in Executive Order 12543 With Respect to the Policies and Actions of the Government of Libya and Revocation of Related Executive Orders

September 20, 2004

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 *et seq.*) (IEEPA), the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1601 *et seq.*) (NEA), section 5 of the United Nations Participation Act, as amended (22 U.S.C. 287c) (UNPA), sections 504 and 505 of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act (22 U.S.C. 2349aa–8 and 2349aa–9), section 40106 of title 49, United States Code, and section 301 of title 3, United States Code,

I, George W. Bush, President of the United States of America, find that the situation that gave rise to the declaration of a national emergency in Executive Order 12543 of January 7, 1986, with respect to the policies and actions of the Government of Libya, and that led to the steps taken in that order and in Executive Order 12544 of January 8, 1986, and Executive Order 12801 of April 15, 1992, has been significantly altered by Libya's commitments and actions to eliminate its weapons of mass destruction programs and its Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) -class missiles, and by other developments. Accordingly, I hereby terminate the national emergency declared in Executive Order 12543, and revoke that Executive Order, Executive Order 12544, and Executive Order 12801. I also hereby revoke Executive Order 12538 of November 15, 1985, and further order:

Section 1. Pursuant to section 202(a) of the NEA (50 U.S.C. 1622(a)), termination of the national emergency declared in Executive Order 12543 with respect to the policies and actions of the Government of Libya shall not affect any action taken or proceeding pending not finally concluded or determined as of the effective date of this order, any action or proceeding based on any act committed prior to such date, or any rights or duties that matured or penalties that were incurred prior to such date.

Sec. 2. This order is not intended to, and does not, create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable at law or in equity by any party against the United States, its departments, agencies, instrumentalities, or entities, its officers or employees, or any other person.

Sec. 3. (a) This order is effective at 12:01 a.m. eastern daylight time on September 21, 2004.

(b) This order shall be transmitted to the Congress and published in the *Federal Register.*

George W. Bush

The White House,
September 20, 2004.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., September 21, 2004]

NOTE: This Executive order was published in the *Federal Register* on September 22.

Message to the Congress on Termination of the National Emergency With Respect to Libya

September 20, 2004

To the Congress of the United States:

Consistent with subsection 204(b) of the International Emergency Economic Powers

Act, 50 U.S.C. 1703(b)(IEEPA), I hereby report that I have issued an Executive Order (the "order") that terminates the national emergency declared in Executive Order 12543 of January 7, 1986, and revokes that Executive Order, Executive Order 12544 of January 8, 1986, Executive Order 12801 of April 15, 1992, and Executive Order 12538 of November 15, 1985. I have determined that the situation that gave rise to this national emergency has been significantly altered by Libya's commitments and actions to eliminate its weapons of mass destruction programs and its Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR)-class missiles, and by other developments.

Executive Order 12543 of January 7, 1986, imposed sanctions on Libya in response to policies and actions of the Government of Libya that constituted an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States. Those sanctions were modified in Executive Order 12544 of January 8, 1986, Executive Order 12801 of April 15, 1992, and supplemented Executive Order 12538 of November 15, 1985.

Based on Libya's recent commitments and actions to implement its December 19, 2003, commitment to eliminate its weapons of mass destruction programs and its MTCR-class missiles, and other developments, I have determined that the situation that gave rise to the national emergency declared in Executive Order 12543 has been significantly altered. My order, therefore, terminates that national emergency with respect to Libya and revokes Executive Orders 12543, 12544, and 12801, and lifts the trade, commercial, and travel sanctions imposed against Libya based on that national emergency. The order also revokes Executive Order 12538, which blocked the import of petroleum products refined in Libya into the United States.

While the order formally lifts sanctions under the national emergency with respect to Libya, it will not lift a wide variety of other sanctions imposed on Libya due to its designation as a state sponsor of terrorism under section 620A of the Foreign Assistance Act (restriction on foreign assistance), section 40 of the Arms Export Control Act (restriction on arms exports), and section 6(j) of the Export Administration Act of 1979 (restriction on exports of certain items on the Commodity Control List), as well as other statutory restrictions applicable to Libya.

I have enclosed a copy of the order, which is effective at 12:01 a.m. eastern daylight time on September 21, 2004.

George W. Bush

The White House,
September 20, 2004.

Memorandum on Intention To Grant Waiver of the Application of Section 901(j) of the Internal Revenue Code With Respect to Libya

September 20, 2004

Presidential Determination No. 2004–48

Memorandum for the Secretary of Treasury

Subject: Intention to Grant Waiver of the Application of Section 901(j) of the Internal Revenue Code with Respect to Libya

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the laws of the United States, including section 901(j)(5) of the Internal Revenue Code (the "Code") and section 301 of title 3, United States Code:

(a) I hereby determine that the waiver of the application of section 901(j)(1) of the Code with respect to Libya is in the national interest of the United States and will expand trade and investment opportunities for U.S. companies in Libya;

(b) I intend to grant such a waiver with respect to Libya; and

(c) I authorize and direct you to report to the Congress in accordance with section 901(j)(5)(B) of the Code my intention to grant the waiver and the reason for this determination and to arrange for publication of this determination in the *Federal Register*.

George W. Bush

Memorandum on Determination and Waiver of Application of Section 908(a)(1) of the Trade Sanctions Reform and Export Enhancement Act of 2000 With Respect to Libya

September 20, 2004

Presidential Determination No. 2004–49

Memorandum for the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Commerce

Subject: Determination and Waiver of Application of Section 908(a)(1) of the Trade Sanctions Reform and Export Enhancement Act of 2000 with Respect to Libya

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including section 908(a)(3) of the Trade Sanctions Reform and Export Enhancement Act of 2000, title IX, Public Law 106–387 (TSRA), I hereby determine that waiver of the application of section 908(a)(1) of TSRA with respect to Libya is in the national security interest of the United States and hereby waive the application of that section with respect to Libya.

The Secretary of State is hereby authorized and directed to report this determination and waiver to the Congress and to arrange for its publication in the *Federal Register*.

George W. Bush

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., September 28, 2004]

NOTE: This memorandum will be published in the *Federal Register* on September 29.

Remarks at a Rally in New York City

September 20, 2004

The President. Thank you all for coming.

Audience members. *Viva Bush! Viva Bush! Viva Bush!*

The President. Thank you all. Thanks for coming. Thank you all for coming. So I said to Pataki, try introducing me at the convention. If it works out well, you can introduce me here tonight. [*Laughter*] He gave a great introduction at the convention, for which I am grateful. And I appreciate his leadership, and I appreciate his friendship.

I also appreciate the friendship of Rudy. I had the privilege of traveling with Rudy in New Mexico. They've even heard of him there. [*Laughter*] And he did a great job. It was a lot of fun. Thanks for coming.

So when I asked Laura to marry me, she said, "Fine, just so long as I never have to give a speech." [*Laughter*] I said, "Well, okay, you'll never have to give a speech." Fortunately, she didn't hold me to that promise. The American people got to see a compassionate, strong, kind person.

I want to thank—I also want to thank Libby and Emily Pataki for joining us, and Judith Giuliani for joining us as well. I wish Howard Mills all the best in his race for the United States Senate. I want to thank Lew Eisenberg for his hard work to make this event successful. I want to thank Al Hoffman for his hard work. I want to thank my friend Mercer Reynolds, Sandy Treadwell, Mike Long. Most of all, I want to thank you all for coming. Vito Fossella is here. Where is old Vito? Somewhere around here. He's a Congressman. He's a great guy.

Thanks for coming. My spirits are high. I'm honored you're here. I appreciate the support we receive here in the great State of New York. And a couple of folks slid across the border from New Jersey and Connecticut as well. [*Laughter*] I'm proud you're here. I'm not much of a prognosticator, but things seem to be going awfully well in the three States I just mentioned. I'm enjoying myself on the campaign trail.

We've got a great country, and I love to get out amongst the people. Laura and I are traveling a lot. The crowds are huge. Enthusiasm is high. We're going to win in November.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you all. I'm ready for the stretch run. I know where I want to lead the country. I look forward to telling the people what I believe. I believe that schools can do a better job of teaching our children. Listen, I went to Washington to challenge this practice of just shuffling kids through schools year after year, grade after

grade. It's what I call challenging the soft bigotry of low expectations.

We've raised the bar. We've increased funding. But in return, we're now saying, "Why don't you measure early so we can correct problems early, before they're too late." And the achievement gap in America is closing, and we're not going to turn around. We're not going to go backwards. We're going to stay on this path to excellence for every child, *por cada nino, por cada nino.*

I went to Washington to fix problems. I believed that we needed to fix Medicare. You know, medicine has changed; Medicare hadn't. We would pay $100,000 for heart surgery but not a dime for prescription drugs that might prevent the heart surgery from being needed in the first place. We used to call it "Mediscare," because politicians were afraid to talk about it. I'm not afraid to take on the tough issue. We've modernized Medicare. Our seniors are going to get prescription drug coverage in 2006, and we're not going to turn back.

I believe the role of Government is not to create wealth but an environment in which the entrepreneurs can flourish. I believe that good Government policy unleashes the innovation and energy of our farmers, ranchers, small-business owners, dreamers, doers. And that's why we unleashed that energy with the largest tax cut in a generation.

Listen, we've been through a lot when it comes to this economy. I don't need to tell people in New York what it's been like. We had a recession. We had some corporate citizens forget what it means to be responsible citizens, and they didn't tell the truth. That affected our economy, by the way. We passed laws that now say, "We're not going to tolerate dishonesty in the boardrooms of America, pure and simple." The attacks on this city hurt us. They say we lost about a million jobs in the 3 months after September the 11th, but we've overcome these obstacles. This economy of ours is growing at a rate as fast as any in nearly 20 years. The national unemployment rate is 5.4 percent, which is lower than the average of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. Over the past year, 47 of the 50 States have added jobs, including the great State of New York. This economy is strong, and it is getting stronger.

A President's most solemn duty is to protect the American people. And here's what I believe: I believe if we show any uncertainty or weakness in this decade, this world will drift toward tragedy. This will not happen on my watch.

I've got a clear and positive plan to build a safer world and more hopeful America. I'm running with what I call a compassionate conservative philosophy that Government should help people improve their lives, not try to run their lives.

I also understand the world in which we live is changing. Listen, the workforce has changed. Years ago, a man would be the worker, and he would have one job, one career, and receive one pension plan, one health care plan, and that was it. This world we live in is really different. People change careers and jobs. Women are working both inside and outside the house.

And yet the fundamental institutions of our Government have not changed with the times. Think about it: The retirement systems haven't changed; the health care systems haven't changed; the Tax Code hasn't changed; worker training hasn't changed. I'm running for 4 years to change the basic systems of Government to reflect the world we live in, so people will have a better chance of realizing the great dreams of this country.

Audience member. [*Inaudible*]

The President. *Vamos a ganar. Mis amigos Latinos estan aqui.*

Audience members. *Viva Bush! Viva Bush! Viva Bush!*

The President. I've got some more I've got to say. [*Laughter*] I'm talking about a hopeful world, and you can't be hopeful unless the economy grows.

Audience member. [*Inaudible*]

The President. *Si.* [*Laughter*] America has got to be the best place in the world to do business. If we want jobs to be created here, this has got to be the best place in the world.

So people say, "What do you mean?" I'll tell you what I mean: Less regulations, legal reform, an energy policy that encourages conservation and renewables and uses our technology to change how we consume and use energy. But in order to keep jobs here,

we have got to become less dependent on foreign sources of energy.

Trade policy has got to be wise. I tell the people, we've opened up our markets for foreign goods, and that's good for consumers. If you've got more to choose from, you're going to get the product you want at a better price and better quality. So what we're saying to places like China, "You treat us the way we treat you." The best trade policy is to level the playing field, because we can compete with anybody, anytime, anywhere in this world.

Audience member. [*Inaudible*]

The President. Okay. *Un momento.* [*Laughter*] Whoo! Only in New York. [*Laughter*] I love this city. What a great place—tremendous diversity. *Un momento.* [*Laughter*]

I've got to talk about taxes. [*Laughter*] Let me tell you something, if we want the economy to grow, we've got to keep the taxes low. This is an issue in this campaign. The guy I'm running against says, "Well, I've got $2.2 trillion of new spending, and I'm going to pay for it by taxing the rich." First of all, you can't raise enough money by taxing the rich. Secondly, by running up the top two brackets, you're hurting every S-corp and every limited partnership in America that's creating most of the new jobs in this country. Thirdly, the American people don't buy that, because they understand people hire lawyers and accountants for a reason—[*laughter*]—to stick them with the tab. [*Laughter*] He's not going to tax the American people, because we're going to win in November.

A couple of other things about a changing world. Listen, there's a skills gap in America. We've got communities where jobs have left, and there are new jobs being created. And so what we've got to do is fill that skills gap through good policy, Pell grants for community colleges. We've got great ideas to make sure people have the skills necessary to fill the jobs of the 21st century. Two out of—one out of every—two out of every four jobs are created—require a college degree. And yet, one in four of the students gets there. It's a problem. That's why I'm for remedial education in high schools. I believe over time we've got to have rigorous exams before they graduate. I want to expand Pell grants so more people start their careers with a college diploma.

The health care system is an issue. We've got an issue in health care in this country. And there's a great philosophical divide. The guy I'm running against, Senator Kerry, wants to nationalize health care. He wants the bureaucrats to make the decisions for the doctors and patients.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Exactly what he's for. For example, he wants to crowd out small businesses—health insurance for small businesses by raising Medicare, putting more people on Medicaid. That's just bad policy, in my judgment. The best way to deal with health care is to make sure the poor have got health care at places like community health centers, is to expand the children's health insurance programs to take care of low-income families that need help, is to expand health savings accounts, is to promote association health care plans so small businesses can pool risk, get insurance at the same rate that big businesses get.

I'll tell you what else needs to happen, we've got to stop these frivolous lawsuits that are running good docs out of business. It's an issue in this campaign. Everywhere I go, people that understand the high cost of medicine occurs because of these frivolous lawsuits. They also understand they're having trouble finding good docs. You talk to what it's like—to people what it's like to be an ob-gyn here in America these days. Many young pregnant moms are having troubling finding an ob-gyn. They travel miles to get the help they need. I don't think you can be pro-doctor and pro-patient and pro-trial-lawyer at the same time. I think you have to make a choice. I think you've got to make a choice, and I made my choice. I'm standing with the docs, and I'm standing with the patients. I am for medical liability reform—now.

I'm going to talk about Social Security in this campaign. I'm going to remind the seniors who are on Social Security, you're fine. You don't have to worry. The trust has got you taken care of. Baby boomers like me are fine when it comes to Social Security. But we need to be worrying about our children and grandchildren. That's who we need to

be worrying about when it comes to retirement. I believe younger workers ought to take some of their tax money and set it aside as personal savings accounts so Social Security meets the promise for them, an account they call their own, an account they can pass on to whomever they want, and an account the Government can't take away.

I also will tell you, in times of change, things shouldn't change, courage and compassion, reverence and integrity. I believe in a culture of life in which everybody matters and every person counts. I believe in family and marriage, which are the foundations of our society. And I'm going to stand for the appointment of Federal judges who know the difference between personal opinion and the strict interpretation of the law.

This election will also determine how we respond to terrorism, and terrorism is a continuing danger. You know, since September the 11th, we have been on the offense, and we'll stay on the offense. We're pursuing these terrorists around the world, not for pride, not for power, but because the lives of our citizens depend on it.

We've got a clear strategy. We're going to defend the homeland. I appreciate the first-responders in this great city. You know what I'm talking about when it comes to defending the homeland. Police and firefighters and EMS squads of New York City are fabulous people. We're transforming our military. We're strengthening the intelligence services. We're staying on the offensive. We will strike the terrorists abroad so we do not have to face them here in America. And we'll work to advance liberty in Afghanistan and Iraq and elsewhere, and we're going to prevail. We'll prevail. If we're steadfast, if we're steady, if we're strong, we'll prevail.

I—our strategy is working. Just think about this. Four years ago, Afghanistan was the home base of Al Qaida; Pakistan was a transit point for terrorist killers; Saudi was fertile ground for terrorist fundraising; Libya was secretly pursuing nuclear weapons; Iraq was a gathering threat; and Al Qaida was largely unchallenged as it plotted and planned for death and destruction. Today, because we acted, because the United States has led, Afghanistan is fighting terror; Pakistan is capturing terrorist leaders; Saudi Arabia is making raids and arrests on Al Qaida leadership; Libya is dismantling its weapons programs; Iraq now has a free army, which is fighting for its freedom; and more than three-quarters of Al Qaida's known leaders and associates have been brought to justice.

Progress involved careful diplomacy, clear moral purpose, and some tough decisions. And the toughest came on Iraq. Saddam Hussein was a sworn enemy of America. He was firing weapons at American pilots, which were enforcing the world's sanctions. He harbored terrorists. Abu Nidal was a cold-blooded terrorist killer who killed Leon Klinghoffer. Abu Nidal and his organization was in Iraq. Zarqawi, the person who likes to behead people in order to shake our will, was in Baghdad. He had a network of people in that country.

Saddam Hussein paid the families of suicide bombers. Saddam Hussein possessed and used weapons of mass destruction. He was a threat. We had been to war with him once. He was hoping the world would turn away and not watch him. I went to Congress and said to Congress, "We see a threat." And I went to Congress because after September the 11th, our Nation must think differently. We must take threats seriously before they fully materialize. Prior to September the 11th, we would see a threat, and say, "Well, it may come to hurt us or may not. We can deal with it if we want, or we can ignore it." No longer do we have the luxury of doing that in this country. It is essential that this country never forget that lesson.

So with that in mind, I went to Congress. They looked at the same intelligence I looked at. They remembered the same history I remembered, and they concluded that Saddam Hussein was a threat. And they authorized the use of force. Now, before a President ever uses force, he ought to try all options in order to deal with the threat. Listen, committing troops into harm's way is, by far, the toughest decision I'll ever have to make, and it's a serious decision. And I was hoping that diplomacy would work. So I went to the United Nations. They looked at the same intelligence. They concluded, 15 to nothing, that Saddam Hussein must disclose, disarm, or face serious consequences.

I believe when a President speaks, he must mean what he says. And I believe when an international body speaks, it must mean what they say. Saddam Hussein—he ignored the resolution, just as he had for over a decade. He was hoping the world would forget him. He was hoping we would grow tired and weary. But we weren't growing tired and weary, because we remember the lessons of September the 11th, 2001. He also systematically deceived the inspectors.

So I have a choice to make at this point in time. Diplomacy had failed. He had been given his choice, his last option to listen to the demands of the free world. He ignored that option. So I have a choice: Do I forget the lessons of September the 11th and take the word of Saddam Hussein, or take action to defend this country? Given that choice, I will defend our country every time.

Listen, I thought we would find stockpiles of weapons. Everybody did. But Saddam still had the capability of making weapons, and he could have passed that capability on to a terrorist enemy. And that's a risk we could not afford to take. Knowing what I know today, I would have made the same decision. And our country is better off with Saddam Hussein sitting in a prison cell. And as a result of defending ourselves, as a result of defending ourselves, 50 million people are free.

Think about what's happening in Afghanistan. Listen, 3 years ago, Afghanistan was a place where many young girls couldn't go to school because the Taliban were so backward and so barbaric. And their moms were pulled out in the public square and whipped and sometimes killed in a sports stadium because they wouldn't toe the line of these people that have only the darkest of visions. Today, 10 million citizens, 41 percent of whom are women, have registered to vote in the upcoming Presidential election in Afghanistan. It's unbelievable. It's powerful. What a powerful, powerful statement.

Think about that. There were people who said, "Oh, well, maybe some people don't want to be free in this world." Forget it. People long to be free. People from all religions long to be free, from all walks of life, and a free Afghanistan will make us safer.

Iraq—it's tough work in Iraq right now. These killers cannot stand the thought of a free society emerging in Iraq. They understand the stakes. And so do I. They understand a free society in Iraq will be a—stand in stark contrast to their ideology of hate, and it scares them, and therefore, they're willing to kill innocent people. And it's tough work. It's tough work. But Prime Minister Allawi, with whom I'll be meeting tomorrow, and who the country will get to see on TV, is one strong man who believes that Iraq will be free, who believes in the hopes and aspirations of the Iraqi people. There's going to be national elections in January in Iraq. Think about how far that country has come since the days of mass graves and torture.

Remember I told the story at the convention of the seven guys walking in who had had their hands cut off—seven Iraqi men came to the Oval Office. First of all, walking in the Oval Office is not easy. It's a powerful place. These guys walk in there, and they're overwhelmed by the environment. I was overwhelmed by them. They'd come to America to get new hands put on. Fantastic story, to think about the contrast in societies. They—and I talked to them—they longed for freedom. Let me tell you something, when you build a free society, the institutions will be bigger than the people, and no longer will a dictator be able to cut off your hand just because he feels like it.

We'll stand with the people of Afghanistan and Iraq. When this country gives its word, it will keep its word. And our strategy is clear—our strategy is clear. We're going to train the Iraqis and the Afghan citizens so they can defend themselves. And that's what we're doing, so they can do the hard work.

Audience member. [*Inaudible*]

The President. *Gracias.* [*Laughter*] She kind of shook me there for a minute—[*laughter*]—just as I was getting to the strategy. [*Laughter*] We're going to train the troops. We're going to put them on the path to stability and democracy, and as quickly as we can, our troops will come home with the honor they earned.

We've got a great military, by the way. I can't tell you how proud I am. We're going to support them. We'll support those in our military. We have a duty in this country to support those we put in harm's way. That's why, a year ago, I went to the Congress and

asked for $87 billion of supplemental funding. And it was vital funding. This was not only for folks in Iraq. This was for troops in Afghanistan as well. And the support was strong for that piece of legislation, because most people in the Congress understood how vital it was. Only 12 Senators voted against it, 2 of whom are my opponent and his runningmate. [*Laughter*]

And when you're out there campaigning, remind them, four people voted to authorize the—four Senators voted to authorize the use of force and not fund our troops. Two of those were my opponent and his runningmate.

So they said to him, "Why?" And he said, "I actually did vote for the $87 billion, before I voted against it." [*Laughter*] You know what else? They kept pressing him, and he said finally, "The whole thing is a complicated matter." [*Laughter*] There's nothing complicated about supporting the men and women in the uniform.

The President of the United States must speak clearly and mean what he says. In order for this world to be peaceful, we must mean what we say. And it's important not to send mixed signals around the world. Today my opponent continued his pattern of twisting in the wind, with new contradictions on old positions in Iraq. He woke up this morning and now decided, "No, we shouldn't have invaded Iraq." [*Laughter*] After, last month, saying he would still have voted for using force, knowing everything we know today. He believes our national security would be stronger with Saddam Hussein in power, not in prison.

Today he said, and I quote, "We have traded a dictator for a chaos that has left America less secure." Direct quote.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I—anyway. [*Laughter*] You cannot—it's hard to imagine a candidate running for President who prefers the stability of a dictatorship to the hope and security of democracy. If I might, I'd like to read a quote he said last December: "Those who doubted whether Iraq or the world would be better off without Saddam Hussein and those who believe we are not safer with his capture, don't have the judgment to be President or the credibility to be elected President." I couldn't have put it better.

I look forward to my meeting with Prime Minister Allawi. It's an important meeting, because I'm going to remind him, so long as I'm the President, we're going to stand with the people of Iraq. It's in our interests that we do so. I believe in the transformational power of liberty. I believe that it's possible to take a society that was so hopeless because of the tyranny that they have been through and encourage them through democracy that they'll become strong allies in the war on terror. That's what I believe.

I believe that—I believe in the power of liberty because I have worked closely with Prime Minister Koizumi, who I also will be working with today. Think about this for a minute. When you hear the skeptics and doubters talk about our policies, think about the fact that I sit down with the Prime Minister of Japan as a friend. Now, it wasn't all that long ago that my dad and your dads and grandfathers were fighting the Japanese as a sworn enemy. And after that war was over, fortunately, Harry Truman and other American citizens believe that liberty could transform an enemy into an ally and work with Japan to develop a Japanese style democracy.

And as a result of that faith in the power of liberty, today I sit down with Prime Minister Koizumi—tomorrow I'll actually sit down with him—and talk about keeping the peace, talking about the peace that we all yearn for. Liberty is powerful.

Someday, an American President is going to be sitting down with the duly elected leader of Iraq talking about the peace. People who are desperate for hope will be looking at the Iraq model and saying, "That's possible for me." The Palestinians will realize that their failed leadership, the leadership that has failed them for decades, must change, in order for them to have a hopeful, peaceful life.

No, liberty is powerful. It will serve as the beacon. These are historic times. In the short term, we'll defend ourselves by staying on the offense. In the long term, we'll work to spread liberty. And I believe people yearn to be free. Freedom is not America's gift to the world. Freedom is the Almighty God's

gift to each man and woman in this world. That's what I believe.

This young century will be liberty century. We're going to reform the systems of Government so people will be free to be able to realize their dreams, to be able to achieve the great hope of this country. We're going to continue to lead the world for freedom and peace.

I want to tell you, I assure you that I'll never forget the day that Rudy and George and I were in the ruins of the Twin Towers. It was September the 14th, 2001. It's a day that—that day might as well have happened yesterday as far as I'm concerned. It is still so vivid in my memory, particularly the workers in the hardhats screaming at all of us, particularly me, I think, "Whatever it takes." That's what they were yelling at the top of their lungs. We did our best to console people, to hug people, to cry with people, to thank people for their work. A guy looked me right in the eye, and he said, "Do not let me down." Since that day, I wake up every morning trying to figure out how best to protect our country. I will never relent in defending America, whatever it takes. [*Applause*]

Finally—*un momento. Por fin, uno mas te dije.* When I campaigned in New York and around the country, I said, if you gave me the honor of serving as the President, I would uphold the honor and the dignity of the office. With your help and thanks to your contributions tonight, I will continue to do so for 4 more years.

God bless. Thanks for coming. On to victory. Thank you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:02 p.m. at the Sheraton Hotel of New York. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. George E. Pataki of New York, his wife, Elizabeth "Libby," and their daughter Emily; former Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani of New York City, and his wife, Judith; Howard Mills, senatorial candidate in New York; Al Hoffman, finance chairman, and Mercer Reynolds, Victory national finance chairman, Republican National Committee; Alexander F. "Sandy" Treadwell, chairman, New York Republican State Committee; Mike Long, chair, Conservative Party of New York State; senior Al Qaida associate Abu Musab Al Zarqawi; Prime Minister Ayad Allawi of the Iraqi Interim Government; and Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi of Japan.

Remarks Prior to Discussions With Prime Minister Manmohan Singh of India in New York City

September 21, 2004

President Bush. I've really been looking forward to meeting the Prime Minister.

Prime Minister Singh. Thank you.

President Bush. He's the leader of a great country and the leader of a friend of the United States.

And I'm proud you're here, sir.

Prime Minister Singh. Thank you, Mr. President. I'm very, very happy to be in this land of opportunity that the United States is. And under your distinguished leadership, our two countries' relations have grown in diverse ways, but I do believe that the best is yet to come.

President Bush. Yes, sir. [*Laughter*] Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:08 a.m. at the Waldorf-Astoria. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks to the United Nations General Assembly in New York City

September 21, 2004

Mr. Secretary-General, Mr. President, distinguished delegates, ladies and gentlemen: Thank you for the honor of addressing this General Assembly. The American people respect the idealism that gave life to this organization. And we respect the men and women of the U.N., who stand for peace and human rights in every part of the world. Welcome to New York City, and welcome to the United States of America.

During the past 3 years, I've addressed this General Assembly in a time of tragedy for my country and in times of decision for all of us. Now we gather at a time of tremendous opportunity for the U.N. and for all peaceful nations. For decades, the circle of liberty and security and development has been expanding in our world. This progress has brought unity to Europe, self-government to Latin America and Asia, and new hope to Africa. Now we have the historic chance to widen the circle even further, to fight radicalism

and terror with justice and dignity, to achieve a true peace founded on human freedom.

The United Nations and my country share the deepest commitments. Both the American Declaration of Independence and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaim the equal value and dignity of every human life. That dignity is honored by the rule of law, limits on the power of the state, respect for women, protection of private property, free speech, equal justice, and religious tolerance. That dignity is dishonored by oppression, corruption, tyranny, bigotry, terrorism, and all violence against the innocent. And both of our founding documents affirm that this bright line between justice and injustice—between right and wrong—is the same in every age and every culture and every nation.

Wise governments also stand for these principles for very practical and realistic reasons. We know that dictators are quick to choose aggression, while free nations strive to resolve differences in peace. We know that oppressive governments support terror, while free governments fight the terrorists in their midst. We know that free peoples embrace progress and life, instead of becoming the recruits for murderous ideologies.

Every nation that wants peace will share the benefits of a freer world, and every nation that seeks peace has an obligation to help build that world. Eventually, there is no safe isolation from terror networks or failed states that shelter them or outlaw regimes or weapons of mass destruction. Eventually, there is no safety in looking away, seeking the quiet life by ignoring the struggles and oppression of others.

In this young century, our world needs a new definition of security. Our security is not merely found in spheres of influence or some balance of power. The security of our world is found in the advancing rights of mankind.

These rights are advancing across the world, and across the world, the enemies of human rights are responding with violence. Terrorists and their allies believe the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the American Bill of Rights and every charter of liberty ever written are lies to be burned and destroyed and forgotten. They believe that dictators should control every mind and tongue in the Middle East and beyond. They believe that suicide and torture and murder are fully justified to serve any goal they declare, and they act on their beliefs.

In the last year alone, terrorists have attacked police stations and banks and commuter trains and synagogues and a school filled with children. This month in Beslan we saw, once again, how the terrorists measure their success, in the death of the innocent and in the pain of grieving families. Svetlana Dzebisov was held hostage along with her son and her nephew. Her nephew did not survive. She recently visited the cemetery, and saw what she called the "little graves." She said, "I understand that there is evil in the world, but what have these little creatures done?"

Members of the United Nations, the Russian children did nothing to deserve such awful suffering and fright and death. The people of Madrid and Jerusalem and Istanbul and Baghdad have done nothing to deserve sudden and random murder. These acts violate the standards of justice in all cultures and the principles of all religions. All civilized nations are in this struggle together, and all must fight the murderers.

We're determined to destroy terror networks wherever they operate, and the United States is grateful to every nation that is helping to seize terrorist assets, track down their operatives, and disrupt their plans. We're determined to end the state sponsorship of terror, and my Nation is grateful to all that participated in the liberation of Afghanistan. We're determined to prevent proliferation and to enforce the demands of the world, and my Nation is grateful to the soldiers of many nations who have helped to deliver the Iraqi people from an outlaw dictator.

The dictator agreed in 1991, as a condition of a cease-fire, to fully comply with all Security Council resolutions, then ignored more than a decade of those resolutions. Finally, the Security Council promised serious consequences for his defiance. And the commitments we make must have meaning. When we say "serious consequences," for the sake of peace, there must be serious consequences. And so a coalition of nations enforced the just demands of the world.

Defending our ideals is vital, but it is not enough. Our broader mission as U.N. members is to apply these ideals to the great issues of our time. Our wider goal is to promote hope and progress as the alternatives to hatred and violence. Our great purpose is to build a better world beyond the war on terror.

Because we believe in human dignity, America and many nations have established a Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria. In 3 years, the contributing countries have funded projects in more than 90 countries and pledged a total of $5.6 billion to these efforts. America has undertaken a $15 billion effort to provide prevention and treatment and humane care in nations afflicted by AIDS, placing a special focus on 15 countries where the need is most urgent. AIDS is the greatest health crisis of our time, and our unprecedented commitment will bring new hope to those who have walked too long in the shadow of death.

Because we believe in human dignity, America and many nations have joined together to confront the evil of trafficking in human beings. We're supporting organizations that rescue the victims, passing stronger antitrafficking laws, and warning travelers that they will be held to account for supporting this modern form of slavery. Women and children should never be exploited for pleasure or greed anywhere on Earth.

Because we believe in human dignity, we should take seriously the protection of life from exploitation under any pretext. In this session, the U.N. will consider a resolution sponsored by Costa Rica calling for a comprehensive ban on human cloning. I support that resolution and urge all governments to affirm a basic ethical principle: No human life should ever be produced or destroyed for the benefit of another.

Because we believe in human dignity, America and many nations have changed the way we fight poverty, curb corruption, and provide aid. In 2002, we created the Monterrey Consensus, a bold approach that links new aid from developed nations to real reform in developing ones. And through the Millennium Challenge Account, my Nation is increasing our aid to developing nations that expand economic freedom and invest in the education and health of their own people.

Because we believe in human dignity, America and many nations have acted to lift the crushing burden of debt that limits the growth of developing economies and holds millions of people in poverty. Since these efforts began in 1996, poor countries with the heaviest debt burdens have received more than $30 billion of relief. And to prevent the buildup of future debt, my country and other nations have agreed that international financial institutions should increasingly provide new aid in the forms of grants rather than loans.

Because we believe in human dignity, the world must have more effective means to stabilize regions in turmoil and to halt religious violence and ethnic cleansing. We must create permanent capabilities to respond to future crises. The United States and Italy have proposed a Global Peace Operations Initiative. G–8 countries will train 75,000 peacekeepers, initially from Africa, so they can conduct operations on that continent and elsewhere. The countries of the G–8 will help this peacekeeping force with deployment and logistical needs.

At this hour, the world is witnessing terrible suffering and horrible crimes in the Darfur region of Sudan, crimes my Government has concluded are genocide. The United States played a key role in efforts to broker a ceasefire, and we're providing humanitarian assistance to the Sudanese people. Rwanda and Nigeria have deployed forces in Sudan to help improve security so aid can be delivered. The Security Council adopted a new resolution that supports an expanded African Union force to help prevent further bloodshed and urges the Government of Sudan to stop flights by military aircraft in Darfur. We congratulate the members of the Council on this timely and necessary action. I call on the Government of Sudan to honor the cease-fire it signed and to stop the killing in Darfur.

Because we believe in human dignity, peaceful nations must stand for the advance of democracy. No other system of government has done more to protect minorities, to secure the rights of labor, to raise the status of women, or to channel human energy

to the pursuits of peace. We've witnessed the rise of democratic governments in predominantly Hindu and Muslim, Buddhist, Jewish, and Christian cultures. Democratic institutions have taken root in modern societies and in traditional societies. When it comes to the desire for liberty and justice, there is no clash of civilizations. People everywhere are capable of freedom and worthy of freedom.

Finding the full promise of representative government takes time, as America has found in two centuries of debate and struggle. Nor is there any—only one form of representative government because democracies, by definition, take on the unique character of the peoples that create them. Yet this much we know with certainty: The desire for freedom resides in every human heart. And that desire cannot be contained forever by prison walls or martial laws or secret police. Over time and across the Earth, freedom will find a way.

Freedom is finding a way in Iraq and Afghanistan, and we must continue to show our commitment to democracies in those nations. The liberty that many have won at a cost must be secured. As members of the United Nations, we all have a stake in the success of the world's newest democracies.

Not long ago, outlaw regimes in Baghdad and Kabul threatened the peace and sponsored terrorists. These regimes destabilized one of the world's most vital and most volatile regions. They brutalized their peoples in defiance of all civilized norms. Today, the Iraqi and Afghan people are on the path to democracy and freedom. The Governments that are rising will pose no threat to others. Instead of harboring terrorists, they're fighting terrorist groups, and this progress is good for the long-term security of all of us.

The Afghan people are showing extraordinary courage under difficult conditions. They're fighting to defend their nation from Taliban holdouts and helping to strike against the terrorist killers. They're reviving their economy. They've adopted a constitution that protects the rights of all while honoring their nation's most cherished traditions. More than 10 million Afghan citizens, over 4 million of them women, are now registered to vote in next month's Presidential election. To any who still would question whether Muslim societies can be democratic societies, the Afghan people are giving their answer.

Since the last meeting of this General Assembly, the people of Iraq have regained sovereignty. Today, in this hall, the Prime Minister of Iraq and his delegation represent a country that has rejoined the community of nations. The Government of Prime Minister Allawi has earned the support of every nation that believes in self-determination and desires peace. And under Security Council Resolutions 1511 and 1546, the world is providing that support. The U.N. and its member nations must respond to Prime Minister Allawi's request and do more to help build an Iraq that is secure, democratic, federal, and free.

A democratic Iraq has ruthless enemies, because terrorists know the stakes in that country. They know that a free Iraq in the heart of the Middle East will be a decisive blow against their ambitions for that region. So a terrorist group associated with Al Qaida is now one of the main groups killing the innocent in Iraq today, conducting a campaign of bombings against civilians and the beheadings of bound men. Coalition forces now serving in Iraq are confronting the terrorists and foreign fighters, so peaceful nations around the world will never have to face them within our own borders.

Our coalition is standing beside a growing Iraqi security force. The NATO Alliance is providing vital training to that force. More than 35 nations have contributed money and expertise to help rebuild Iraq's infrastructure. And as the Iraqi Interim Government moves toward national elections, officials from the United Nations are helping Iraqis build the infrastructure of democracy. These selfless people are doing heroic work and are carrying on the great legacy of Sergio de Mello.

As we have seen in other countries, one of the main terrorist goals is to undermine, disrupt, and influence election outcomes. We can expect terrorist attacks to escalate as Afghanistan and Iraq approach national elections. The work ahead is demanding, but these difficulties will not shake our conviction that the future of Afghanistan and Iraq is a future of liberty. The proper response to difficulty is not to retreat; it is to prevail.

The advance of freedom always carries a cost, paid by the bravest among us. America mourns the losses to our Nation and to many others. And today I assure every friend of Afghanistan and Iraq and every enemy of liberty: We will stand with the people of Afghanistan and Iraq until their hopes of freedom and security are fulfilled.

These two nations will be a model for the broader Middle East, a region where millions have been denied basic human rights and simple justice. For too long, many nations, including my own, tolerated, even excused, oppression in the Middle East in the name of stability. Oppression became common, but stability never arrived. We must take a different approach. We must help the reformers of the Middle East as they work for freedom and strive to build a community of peaceful, democratic nations.

This commitment to democratic reform is essential to resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict. Peace will not be achieved by Palestinian rulers who intimidate opposition, tolerate corruption, and maintain ties to terrorist groups. The long-suffering Palestinian people deserve better. They deserve true leaders capable of creating and governing a free and peaceful Palestinian state.

Even after the setbacks and frustrations of recent months, good will and hard effort can achieve the promise of the roadmap to peace. Those who would lead a new Palestinian state should adopt peaceful means to achieve the rights of their people and create the reformed institutions of a stable democracy. Arab states should end incitement in their own media, cut off public and private funding for terrorism, and establish normal relations with Israel. Israel should impose a settlement freeze, dismantle unauthorized outposts, end the daily humiliation of the Palestinian people, and avoid any actions that prejudice final negotiations. And world leaders should withdraw all favor and support from any Palestinian ruler who fails his people and betrays their cause.

The democratic hopes we see growing in the Middle East are growing everywhere. In the words of the Burmese democracy advocate Aung San Suu Kyi, "We do not accept the notion that democracy is a Western value. To the contrary, democracy simply means good government rooted in responsibility, transparency, and accountability." Here at the United Nations, you know this to be true. In recent years, this organization has helped create a new democracy in East Timor, and the U.N. has aided other nations in making the transition to self-rule.

Because I believe the advance of liberty is the path to both a safer and better world, today I propose establishing a Democracy Fund within the United Nations. This is a great calling for this great organization. The fund would help countries lay the foundations of democracy by instituting the rule of law and independent courts, a free press, political parties, and trade unions. Money from the fund would also help set up voter precincts and polling places and support the work of election monitors. To show our commitment to the new Democracy Fund, the United States will make an initial contribution. I urge other nations to contribute as well.

Today I've outlined a broad agenda to advance human dignity and enhance the security of all of us. The defeat of terror, the protection of human rights, the spread of prosperity, the advance of democracy, these causes, these ideals, call us to great work in the world. Each of us alone can only do so much. Together, we can accomplish so much more.

History will honor the high ideals of this organization. The charter states them with clarity: "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war," "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights," "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom."

Let history also record that our generation of leaders followed through on these ideals, even in adversity. Let history show that in a decisive decade, members of the United Nations did not grow weary in our duties or waver in meeting them. I'm confident that this young century will be liberty's century. I believe we will rise to this moment, because I know the character of so many nations and leaders represented here today, and I have faith in the transforming power of freedom.

May God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11 a.m. in the General Assembly Hall. In his remarks, he referred to Secretary-General Kofi Annan of the United Nations; Foreign Minister Jean Ping of Gabon, President, 59th session of the U.N. General Assembly; former President Saddam Hussein of Iraq; and Prime Minister Ayad Allawi of the Iraqi Interim Government. The Office of the Press Secretary also released a Spanish language transcript of these remarks.

Remarks Following Discussions With Prime Minister Ayad Allawi of Iraq and an Exchange With Reporters in New York City

September 21, 2004

President Bush. A couple of opening statements. We'll answer—I'll answer a couple of questions from the U.S. media, AP and Reuters, and I'll answer a question from the Iraqi media as well.

First, Mr. Prime Minister, it's been my delight to visit with you. I appreciate your courage. I appreciate your leadership. I am—I share the same confidence you share that Iraq will be a free nation, and as a nation, our world will be safer and America will be more secure. We look forward to working with you, sir. I'm proud that you have—you and your administration have stood strong in the face of the terrorists who want to disrupt progress in Iraq.

Today—yesterday an American citizen was beheaded. We express our heartfelt condolences. We send our prayers to the Armstrong family. We also stand in solidarity with the American that is now being held captive, while we send our prayers to his wife.

These killers want to shake our will.

Prime Minister Allawi. Yes.

President Bush. They want to determine the fate of the Iraqi people. We will not allow these thugs and terrorists to decide your fate and to decide our fate. As your election draws closer, I'm confident the terrorists will try to stop the progress by acts of violence. And I appreciate your will, and I appreciate your strength. And we'll stand with you, Mr. Prime Minister.

Welcome.

Prime Minister Allawi. Thank you very much. I would like to pay my condolences really to the people who lost their lives in defending—fighters of freedom and democracy. The barbaric action of yesterday really is unbelievable. It demonstrates how much these criminals are wanting to damage our worth across Iraq as well as in the civilized world.

We in Iraq appreciate tremendously the courage President Bush took in deciding to wage war to destroy Saddam. The atrocities and tyranny and—atrocities that have been committed when Saddam was around was unbelievable. We show a lot of—hundreds of thousands of mass graves in Iraq.

The war now in Iraq is really not only an Iraqi war. It's a war for the civilized world to fight terrorists and terrorism. And there is no route but the route of winning, and we are going to prevail, and we are going to win, regardless of how much damage they are going to make and cause in Iraq and elsewhere. They want to undermine us in Iraq and to move from Iraq, to undermine the region. And once they do this, they will hit hard at the civilized world, in Washington and New York and London and Paris and Ankara and Geneva, elsewhere—everywhere in the civilized world.

So we are adamant and determined that we, together, will stand and win against the aggressors, and peace and stability will prevail in the Middle East. And we thank you very much for your support.

President Bush. Thank you, sir.

Scott [Scott Lindlaw, Associated Press].

Criticism of Iraq Policy

Q. Thank you, Mr. President. You've answered some of Senator Kerry's criticisms in the last couple days about your Iraq policy. A couple of Republicans have raised some questions as well in the last couple days. Senator Hagel said that, "Sharp analysis of our policies is required. We didn't do that in Vietnam, to the point where we finally lost." Senator McCain, you're not being "as straight as we would want him to be," about the situation in Iraq. What do you say to them?

President Bush. Both Senators you quoted strongly want me elected as President. We agree that the world is better off with Saddam Hussein sitting in a prison cell.

And that stands in stark contrast to the statement my opponent made yesterday when he said that the world was better off with Saddam in power.

I strongly disagree. It is in our interests that we deal with Prime Minister Allawi. It's in our interests that we work toward a free society in Iraq. And I believe we'll have a free society in Iraq, and I know that a free society in Iraq makes America safer and the world better off.

My opponent has taken so many different positions on Iraq that his statements are hardly credible at all.

Who is from the Iraqi media?

Prime Minister Allawi's Visit

Q. Mr. President, how do you evaluate Mr. Allawi's visit to America? And in what way—how can we—what the result will be reflected on the situation of Iraq, as a result of this visit?

President Bush. Well, first, I'm glad to be able to look him in the eye and tell him how much I appreciate his courage. I believe that Iraq needed a strong Government to lead the people toward a free world. And this group of gentlemen here are doing just that.

This is an important visit because the Prime Minister will be able to explain clearly to the American people that not only is progress being made, that we will succeed. The American people have seen horrible scenes on our TV screens. And the Prime Minister will be able to say to them that in spite of the sacrifices being made, in spite of the fact that Iraqis are dying and U.S. troops are dying as well, that there is a will amongst the Iraqi people to succeed. And we stand with them. It's also an important visit for me to say to the people of Iraq that America has given its word to help, and we'll keep our word.

Who is the Reuters man here?

National Intelligence Estimate/Situation in Iraq

Q. Right here, Mr. President, thank you. Why do you think the CIA's assessment of conditions in Iraq are so much at odds with the optimism that you and Prime Minister Allawi are expressing at the moment?

President Bush. The CIA laid out a—several scenarios that said: Life could be lousy; like could be okay; life could be better. And they were just guessing as to what the conditions might be like. The Iraqi citizens are defying the pessimistic predictions. The Iraqi citizens are headed toward free elections. This Government has been in place for a little over 2 months, and the Iraqi citizens are seeing a determined effort by responsible citizens to lead to a more hopeful tomorrow. And I am optimistic we'll succeed.

Listen, I understand how tough it is. The Prime Minister understands how tough it is. He has to live with the few who are trying to stop the aspirations of the many. And we are—we're standing with the Iraqi people because it's in our Nation's interests to do so. We're standing with the people of this good country because we understand that, as Prime Minister has said, that we must defeat them there. Otherwise we'll face them here at home.

And we'll prevail. We will succeed. It's an historic opportunity. And that's why I'm so honored to be with the Prime Minister. It's an historic opportunity not only to change this good country for the better and secure America, but it's an historic opportunity to set example for people in the broader Middle East that free societies can and will exist.

And I want to thank you for your leadership, sir.

Prime Minister Allawi. Thank you, Mr. President. It's very important for the people of the world really to know that we are winning. We are making progress in Iraq. We are defeating terrorists. Najaf, Samarra, Mosul, Basra are all live examples that a lot of progress have been made. Unfortunately, the media have not been covering these significant gains in Iraq. And this is all because of the determination of the Iraqi people. The light that they are seeing at the end will—democracy will prevail, the rule of law will prevail. The issues and culture of human rights will prevail. And the friendship with the United States and with the civilized nations are comfortable there.

So, really, the winning, it's unfortunate, is not being portrayed in the media. This is very unfortunate. I always say that we are welcoming any media who wants to come to Iraq

and see for themselves the grounds we are covering and the winning we are doing in Iraq.

President Bush. One thing is for certain. My discussions with Prime Minister Allawi reconfirm to me that the world is much better off with Prime Minister Allawi and his Government in power. And any statement to the contrary is wrong. The idea somehow that the world would be better off with Saddam Hussein in power is an absurd notion.

Thank you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:52 p.m. at the Waldorf-Astoria. In his remarks, he referred to Eugene Armstrong, an American citizen who was killed on September 20 by militants led by senior Al Qaida associate Abu Musab Al Zarqawi, and Jack Hensley, also an American citizen, who was kidnaped with Mr. Armstrong on September 16. Prime Minister Allawi referred to former President Saddam Hussein of Iraq. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks at a Luncheon Hosted by Secretary-General Kofi Annan of the United Nations in New York City

September 21, 2004

Mr. Secretary-General, distinguished members of the United Nations community, excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, my country is honored to welcome you to New York. This is my fourth General Assembly, and I'm very pleased to be among you as we open the 59th session of the United Nations General Assembly this year under the leadership of Foreign Minister Ping of Gabon.

We last met in the shadow of a great tragedy. In August 2003, a terrorist attack in Baghdad took the lives of 22 servants of peace, including Sergio de Mello, who gave his life for the values of liberty and peace. We pledge, once again, to carry on their essential work.

That work is moving forward. U.N. officials are helping the people of Afghanistan as that nation moves toward an historic Presidential election this October. In Iraq, you're helping to build the infrastructure of democracy and prepare the way for free and fair nationwide elections. In Sudan and Liberia, Haiti and other nations, this body has been working hard to bring security, humanitarian assistance, and stability to the people in desperate need. Much credit for these efforts is due to Kofi Annan, who has shown strong vision.

Mr. Secretary-General, with admiration for your leadership and with confidence in this organization, I offer a toast to you and your service and to the United Nations.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:41 p.m. at the United Nations Headquarters. In his remarks, he referred to Secretary-General Kofi Annan of the United Nations; and Foreign Minister Jean Ping of Gabon, President, 59th session of the U.N. General Assembly. The transcript released by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of Secretary-General Annan.

Proclamation 7819—National Employer Support of the Guard and Reserve Week, 2004

September 21, 2004

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Throughout our history, the members of the National Guard and Reserve have served our country with honor. Our Nation depends on the dedication of these citizen-soldiers, and our Guardsmen and Reservists rely on the support of their civilian employers to allow them to fulfill their service obligations. During National Employer Support of the Guard and Reserve Week, we honor the sacrifice of these brave men and women, and we express our gratitude for the commitment of their employers.

As we fight terror and advance freedom, members of the National Guard and Reserve are making vital contributions around the world as fully integrated components of our Nation's Armed Forces. At home, they are called on to protect our communities, preserve order, and provide assistance in times of natural disaster, balancing the demands of their families, civilian careers, and military

commitments. These Guardsmen and Reservists are indispensable to our Nation's efforts to promote democracy, peace, and freedom around the world, and we salute their selfless service.

Employers also play a critical role in our Nation's defense, demonstrating their patriotism by supporting the training and mobilization of these brave individuals. Across America, business owners, school personnel, hospital administrators, and many others put our country's safety and security first when they provide time off, pay, health care benefits, and job security to their Guard and Reserve employees. These sacrifices help strengthen our country and allow our men and women in uniform to focus on the missions at hand. The generosity and public spirit of these employers have earned them the appreciation of our Nation.

Now, Therefore, I, George W. Bush, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim September 26 through October 2, 2004, as National Employer Support of the Guard and Reserve Week. I encourage all Americans to join me in expressing our thanks to the civilian employers and the members of our National Guard and Reserve for their patriotism and sacrifices on behalf of our Nation. I also call upon State and local officials, private organizations, businesses, and all military commanders to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-first day of September, in the year of our Lord two thousand four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-ninth.

George W. Bush

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., September 23, 2004]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on September 24.

Notice—Continuation of the National Emergency With Respect to Persons Who Commit, Threaten To Commit, or Support Terrorism

September 21, 2004

On September 23, 2001, by Executive Order 13224, I declared a national emergency with respect to persons who commit, threaten to commit, or support terrorism, pursuant to the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701–1706). I took this action to deal with the unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States constituted by the grave acts of terrorism and threats of terrorism committed by foreign terrorists, including the terrorist attacks in New York, in Pennsylvania, and against the Pentagon committed on September 11, 2001, and the continuing and immediate threat of further attacks against United States nationals or the United States. Because the actions of these persons who commit, threaten to commit, or support terrorism continue to pose an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States, the national emergency declared on September 23, 2001, and the measures adopted on that date to deal with that emergency, must continue in effect beyond September 23, 2004. Therefore, in accordance with section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)), I am continuing for 1 year the national emergency with respect to persons who commit, threaten to commit, or support terrorism.

This notice shall be published in the *Federal Register* and transmitted to the Congress.

George W. Bush

The White House,
September 21, 2004.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:47 p.m., September 21, 2004]

NOTE: This notice was published in the *Federal Register* on September 22.

Message to the Congress on Continuation of the National Emergency With Respect to Persons Who Commit, Threaten To Commit, or Support Terrorism

September 21, 2004

To the Congress of the United States:

Section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)) provides for the automatic termination of a national emergency unless, prior to the anniversary date of its declaration, the President publishes in the *Federal Register* and transmits to the Congress a notice stating that the emergency is to continue in effect beyond the anniversary date. In accordance with this provision, I have sent the enclosed notice, stating that the national emergency with respect to persons who commit, threaten to commit, or support terrorism is to continue in effect beyond September 23, 2004, to the *Federal Register* for publication. The most recent notice continuing this emergency was published in the *Federal Register* on September 22, 2003 (68 *FR* 55189).

The crisis constituted by the grave acts of terrorism and threats of terrorism committed by foreign terrorists, including the terrorist attacks in New York, in Pennsylvania, and against the Pentagon committed on September 11, 2001, and the continuing and immediate threat of further attacks on United States nationals or the United States that led to the declaration of a national emergency on September 23, 2001, has not been resolved. These actions pose a continuing unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States. For these reasons, I have determined that it is necessary to continue the national emergency declared with respect to persons who commit, threaten to commit, or support terrorism, and maintain in force the comprehensive sanctions to respond to this threat.

George W. Bush

The White House,
September 21, 2004.

NOTE: An original was not available for verification of the content of this message.

Remarks at a Reception for Heads of State in New York City

September 21, 2004

Thank you all. Please be seated, for what is going to be a short speech. We're honored you're here in New York City. Laura and I are thrilled to have hosted this reception. We hope you've enjoyed it as much as we have. And it's a great opportunity for Laura and me to say hello to many of our friends who are Prime Ministers and Presidents and Foreign Ministers and perm representatives to the various countries represented here.

I do want to pay tribute to our great Secretary of State, Colin Powell, who's done such a wonderful job for our country. As well I want to say thanks to Jack and Sally Danforth. Jack is the new Ambassador to the United Nations for our country. Thank you all for your service.

I think my friend the Governor of New York is still here, George Pataki, and First Lady Libby Pataki. One thing about New York City is they know how to host big events. The U.N. General Assembly is a big event. There's a lot of us with nice automobiles driving around the city, and they make it quite convenient. One reason why is they've got a great mayor in Michael Bloomberg who is not—was here and left, but he's—but as well, I do want you to recognize the commissioner of police for this great city, Ray Kelly, and Veronica, is with us today.

I saw Kofi Annan earlier. I don't know if Kofi is still here or not, but I do respect him. He's a decent, kind man, and I'm proud of the job he does at the United Nations. And Laura and I are very fond of his wife, Nane, as well.

And most of all, I appreciate you serving your respective countries and working together to make the world a better place. It's—these have been tough times in the world. But I think if we stick true to the values that unite most of us, which are human rights, human dignity, the deep desire for people to live in freedom, the world will be a better place. And that's really how I view this time here at the United Nations, a

chance to find common purpose and common ground, all aiming at achieving the peace we all desire.

I am floored by the progress that's being made in parts of the world that used to be dark, places where people had no hope, and today, they see light.

Today in my speech at the U.N., I pointed out the fact that 10 million citizens in Afghanistan have registered to vote in the upcoming Presidential election, 41 percent of whom are women. This is a society that 3 years ago was a place where young girls weren't allowed to go to school, and their mothers were whipped in the public squares because they didn't toe the dark line of a group of people whose vision was limited by hatred. And today, 3 years later, 10 million citizens have said, "I love freedom. I want to be free." And they're going to the polls.

And the world is going to be more peaceful for it. We believe that liberty and freedom go hand in hand. We believe every human heart desires to be free, and I believe every free nation has a responsibility to free every human heart, as best we can.

So that's how I view the 59th session of the U.N. General Assembly. It's an honor to be here. It's great to see *mis amigos*, my friends. I want to thank you all for your hard work, and may God bless you and your countries. Thank you for coming. Good night, everybody. Thank you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:06 p.m. at the Waldorf-Astoria. In his remarks, he referred to Sally Danforth, wife of former Senator John C. Danforth, U.S. Representative to the United Nations; Gov. George E. Pataki of New York and his wife, Elizabeth "Libby"; Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg of New York City; Veronica Kelly, wife of New York City Police Commissioner Raymond W. Kelly; and Secretary-General Kofi Annan of the United Nations and his wife, Nane.

Remarks in a Discussion on Education in King of Prussia, Pennsylvania

September 22, 2004

The President. Thank you all for coming. I appreciate so many people coming out to say hello. Thanks.

So when I asked Laura to marry me, she said, "Fine. Just so long as I don't have to give any speeches." [*Laughter*] Fortunately she didn't hold me to the promise. She's a woman of great compassion and decency. She understands education well. I'm proud to call her wife. I know you're proud to call her First Lady.

I want to talk about my plans to make America and the world safer and to make this country a more hopeful place. Today we're going to emphasize education. We've got some experts up here on education. And in a little bit we're going to hear from them to help make the points that Laura and I are making around the country, that we can close an achievement gap, that every child can learn, we expect every school to teach. And we're making progress when it comes to our public schools.

I also want to thank you for what you're going to do. See, what you're going to do is put up the signs and register the voters, bring people out to vote. Today you're going to leave here, hopefully, realizing that I have a reason to run again, that I've got a vision, that Laura and I are honored to serve our country. But I'm traveling the country giving people a reason why: Four more years will make the world a safer place, America a safer place, and the country a more hopeful place.

I am not only out there campaigning with Laura, but I'm really pleased with the good work Vice President Cheney has done and is doing as well.

I also want to thank you for training our Director of Homeland Security so well. [*Laughter*] Tom Ridge is doing a great job. He's a close friend. I'm really proud of the work he's doing on behalf of our country to better protect America from these evildoers that would like to continue to strike us. Tom is doing a wonderful job.

I'm proud to be working with your U.S. Senators: Senator Specter—put him back in for 6 more years, by the way. He's a good man. Senator Santorum, he's a good fellow too.

I appreciate Melissa Brown, who's running for the United States House. Thank you for coming.

Tom Corbett, the candidate for attorney general, is with us. Jean Craige Pepper is

with us. Thanks for coming, Jean. I'm proud you're here. Listen, I understand—understand Karen Stout, the president of the community college system—thank you for coming.

Let me say something about community colleges.

Audience member. [*Inaudible*] [*Laughter*]

The President. Thank you. Community colleges are vital for the future of this country. You're going to hear me talk a little bit about the changing times in which we live and that institutions must change with the changing times. Our worker training programs must change with the changing times, and community colleges are a fantastic place, a wonderful opportunity for workers to gain the skills necessary to fill the jobs of the 21st century. And I appreciate you being here.

Part of our vision for a more hopeful America expands community college—access to community colleges all across our country. Think about the community colleges: They're accessible; they're affordable; and they're able to adjust to the times. And we need to use community colleges more effectively to make sure, as the economy changes, as new jobs are created, the workers can gain the skills necessary to fill the jobs of the 21st century.

I'm proud you're here. Thanks for coming. You've got a great system, I understand.

Also met Shannon Hickey. Where are you, Shannon? Somewhere. Anyway, she's here, believe me. She came to the airport. Oh, there's Shannon. Thanks for being here. Hiding behind the pillar—or hiding in front of the pillar. Shannon meets me at the airport today. Shannon is a soldier in the army of compassion. She is a soul who started what's called Mychal's Message in 2002. She is a social entrepreneur. She heard a call and acted upon it. This program serves an outreach to the homeless in Philadelphia and other cities in the State of Pennsylvania. This young soul, inspired by the example of Father Mychal Judge, who is the chaplain of the New York City Fire Department who died on September the 11th, 2001, heard a call, a universal call to love a neighbor like you'd like to be loved yourself, and started this program to help people who need help. Listen, the strength of this country is the hearts and souls of our citizens. That's the true strength of America. The strength of America is found in people like Shannon. I'm honored you're here.

I particularly want the young who are here to look at Shannon as an example of what you can do to help change America, one heart, one soul, one conscience at a time. Proud you're here, Shannon. Thank you for the example you set.

Later on today I'm going to travel your State and inspect the damage of the floods. I just want the people of this important State to understand that our Government is ready to help, that we'll provide whatever aid is necessary, whatever aid we're capable of providing, to the victims of these floods. Our prayers go to those families who've had their lives turned upside down, and God bless you all.

A hopeful society is one in which the economy grows. See, you can't have a hopeful society if people can't find work. And our economy is growing, and it is amazing it is growing because we've overcome a lot of obstacles. When you're out gathering up the vote, remind people what we've been through in a brief period of time. We've been through a recession. When Vice President Cheney and I got sworn in, this country was heading into a recession. As a matter of fact, the stock market had been correcting about 5 months before the inauguration. In other words, the economy was beginning to change.

And then as we began to get on our feet again, some corporate scandals affected the conscience of our country. One of the things that our society rests upon is confidence, and people—and the numbers on balance sheets, and some of our citizens weren't responsible citizens. They betrayed the trust. We got together and passed tough laws that make it clear we're not going to tolerate that kind of dishonesty in the boardrooms of America. But the corporate scandals affected us. Those scandals did affect us.

Then, of course, the enemy attacked us on September the 11th, 2001. Some estimate it costs us a million jobs in the 3 months after the attack. These are major obstacles for any economy to overcome, yet we're overcoming them.

The economy is growing. The unemployment rate in this State is 5.6 percent. That's down. People are working. I understand there are some pockets that still are lagging behind the national numbers, and we're going to keep working to make sure people can find work. The national unemployment rate is 5.4 percent. That's lower than the average of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s.

We've overcome these obstacles because we've got great workers. We've overcome these obstacles because the entrepreneurial spirit is strong in America. The small-business sector of our economy is thriving. We've overcome these obstacles because the farmers are—know what they're doing, and they're good at growing crops. We've overcome these obstacles because of tax cuts.

And so the question is, how do we take this recovery and convert it into lasting prosperity? Here's how.

First, America must be the best place in the world to do business. If you want to find jobs here in America, if you want people being able to realize their dreams by working, America must be the best place in the entire world for people to do business. That means less regulations on our businesses. That means we've got to do something about these lawsuits that are making it awfully hard for employers to expand.

That means Congress needs to pass my energy plan. You want jobs here at home? If you want there to be jobs in Pennsylvania and in America, if you want our manufacturing companies to be able to thrive, we need reliable sources of energy. We need to modernize our electricity grid. We need to encourage conservation. We need to use renewables like ethanol and biodiesel. We need to use technology to make sure we can burn our coal as cleanly as possible. We need to use technology to explore for natural gas in our hemisphere. What I'm telling you is, in order to make sure these kids can find work and to make sure this job base continues to expand, we must be less reliant on foreign sources of energy.

In order to make sure jobs are here in America, we must reject economic isolationism and open up markets to U.S. products. See, we are good at a lot of things here in America, and we ought to have a level playing field so that we can sell that which we're good at producing around the world. We open up our markets from goods from other countries, and it's good for U.S. consumers. I mean, if you've got more product to choose from, you're likely to find that which you want at a better quality and better price. So what I say to countries like China is, "You treat us the way we treat you." We're going to open up the markets around the world. We'll create a level playing field. Americans can compete with anybody, anytime, anywhere, if the rules are fair.

You want this economy to continue to grow, we've got to keep taxes low. And we have a difference of opinion in this campaign about taxes. My opponent thus far has proposed $2.2 trillion in new spending, and we've still got a month to go—[*laughter*]—$2.2 trillion. That's a lot even for a Senator from Massachusetts. [*Laughter*] So they say, "How are you going to pay for it?" They said, "How are you going to pay for it?" He said, "That's easy. Tax the rich." Now, you've heard that before, haven't you?

First of all, do you realize most small businesses pay tax at the individual income tax level? Think about that: 90 percent of small businesses are organized as Subchapter S corporations or limited partnerships. Therefore, if you talk about raising the top two brackets of the individual income tax, you're talking about taxing them. That makes no sense. Seventy percent of new jobs in America are created by small businesses. And when my opponent says he's going to tax the rich by raising the top two brackets, it means he's going to tax about a million small businesses that are creating new jobs. It makes no sense to tax the job creators when this economy is beginning to recover.

Secondly, he says he's going to tax the rich. Rich hire lawyers and accountants for a reason—[*laughter*]—to stick you with the bill. We're not going to let him tax you because we're going to win in November.

The work place has changed dramatically over the past 40 years. You know, it used to be, a person had one job, one career, one pension plan, one health care plan, and that person was generally a male. Today, workers—Americans change jobs and careers, and

a lot of women are working both in the home and outside the home. And yet——

Audience member. "W" stands for "Women."

The President. And so it—and yet, when you think about it, the fundamental systems of Government were designed for yesterday. The labor laws were designed for yesterday. The health care plans were designed for yesterday. The pension plans were designed for yesterday. The Tax Code was designed for yesterday. I'm running again because I want to change these fundamental systems to help people realize their dreams. See, the role of Government is to provide opportunity for people to realize their dreams, not to dictate to people, not to tell people, not to run the lives of the American citizens. And that's the fundamental difference of this campaign.

A couple of points I want to make and explain to you what I'm talking about. Take Social Security: If you're a senior citizen on Social Security, you have nothing to worry about, about the Trust Fund providing the money the Government said it's going to pay you. That's just the way it is. Now, I understand how politics works, and I understand there's attempts in the political campaigns to scare seniors by saying if so-and-so gets elected, they're going to take away your check. But the reality is the Social Security Trust is solvent for those who are on Social Security today. You're going to get your check, in other words. Baby boomers, like me—I think we're in pretty good shape when it comes to the Social Security Trust.

But we need to worry about our children and our grandchildren. We need to worry about these kids right back here, in terms of whether or not there's going to be a Social Security trust available to meet what the Government said it's going to do. I believe in order to strengthen Social Security, younger workers ought to be able to take some of their own money and set up personal savings accounts to get a better rate of return than the current Social Security Trust does, a personal savings account they call their own, a personal savings account they can pass on to another generation, a personal savings account that the Government cannot take away. We've got to think differently about our pension plans. They were designed for the past. Times have changed.

Labor laws, for example—it is impossible for some business because of labor laws to give a mom flex-time or comp-time at her place of work, because the laws were designed for yesterday. I believe the labor laws ought to be designed for tomorrow and allow companies to let workers take time off so that they can juggle the needs of work and family. Listen, our labor laws ought to be family-friendly. Our labor laws ought to recognize that the work force has changed dramatically.

A couple of things about health care right quick. I'm a big backer, believer in what's called health savings accounts. These are accounts where people can save tax-free, employer and employee can contribute tax-free—that helps cover catastrophic costs for the worker. But these health savings accounts are accounts that somebody calls their own. They own them, and they can take them from job to job, no matter what career they may be in.

These accounts make sense. It helps hold down the cost of medicine, at the same time as it ensures that the health care decisions are made by doctors and patients, not by Government planners and bureaucrats. I believe that good health policy empowers people to make decisions, as opposed to empowering the Federal Government to make decisions on behalf of people. And that's the fundamental difference in this campaign on health care.

Now, look, I believe Government should help those who cannot help themselves. That's why I believe in community health centers, places where the poor and the indigent can get good primary care and good preventative care. And I'm going to make sure in the second term that every poor county in America has one.

I also believe we ought to continue to expand the children's health care program, to make sure that all who are eligible are covered by this health care initiative.

But I am unalterably opposed to plans which move people from private insurance to Government insurance. I'm unalterably opposed to plans which mean the Federal Government will intrude into your decision-making process.

The cost of health care is affected by frivolous lawsuits. I strongly support medical liability reform. We must make sure good doctors stay in practice. This is an issue in this campaign. See, you can't have it both ways. You cannot be pro-doctor, pro-patient, and pro-trial-lawyer at the same time. You have to make a choice. Listen, I understand what's happening to ob-gyns here in the State of Pennsylvania, because I've met them. I've met with those whose premiums are getting so high they cannot practice, and therefore, it hurts pregnant women. I understand what's taking place in your State. But you understand it better than I do. And therefore, I'm going to continue to talk about medical liability reform until the Senate and the House overcomes the obstacles of the trial lawyers and gets the job done.

All right, we're here to talk about education. A hopeful world is one in which every child learns to read, write, and add and subtract. I went to Washington to fix problems and to challenge the status quo, if the status quo was—meant mediocrity. And I was worried about a public school system that sometimes gave up on kids. I went to Washington to challenge what I call the soft bigotry of low expectations. See, if you lower the bar, you're going to get lousy results. If you believe certain children cannot read and write and add and subtract, those children won't learn to read and write and add and subtract. We had a policy, if we're frank about it, where schools just shuffled kids through. Not every school, of course, but many children were being just shuffled through the system, and we hoped that we got it right in the end. And that's not fair. It's not fair to the child. It's not fair to the parents, and it's, frankly, not fair to the teachers and principals, either.

And so, in return for increasing Federal spending, I said to Congress, "Why don't we insist that States measure early? Why don't we insist that there be strong accountability measures so we can determine whether curriculum are working, so we can correct a child's learning problems early before that child just moves through grade after grade? Why don't we say we're going to challenge the soft bigotry of low expectations by raising the bar, allowing local folks to make the right decisions for their schools, and using an accountability system to help achieve excellence?" And the Congress joined me in passing that piece of legislation, and it's working.

It's working because there's an achievement gap in America that's closing. And I can say it's working because we measure. We used to say, "I think it's working." Now we say, "It's working." More and more African American fourth graders are achieving what—that which we wanted, is being able to read at grade level. Those are facts. More and more Latino kids are learning to read and write, and that's a fact. And that's an important part of making sure this country has got a hopeful future.

My opponent and I—he supported No Child Left Behind Act. Then, of course, he gets in a tough campaign—[*laughter*]—and starts talking about weakening the accountability standards. That makes no sense to weaken something that's working. We want to know—we want to know.

And today we're going to talk about some educators—talk with some educators that understand the power of using accountability as a way to achieve excellence for every child, excellence for every child.

Let me talk about one other thing before we talk to our guests, and that is, I'm going to ask Congress to set up a teacher incentive fund. It's a $500 million fund to allow States and school districts to access the money to pay teachers for a job well done. And if the accountability system shows progress, I think there ought to be a reward for that progress. The Federal Government is not going to decide who gets the money. I believe in local control of schools. Districts and States ought to making those decisions about how to use performance grant money.

We're also expanding the, what we call the Adjunct Teacher Corps. It's to pay professionals, particularly in math and science, to come in the classrooms, because I know we need to be emphasizing math and science if we want our high school kids to have the skills necessary to fill the jobs of the 21st century.

I believe very strongly that we ought to provide incentives for teachers to teach in a math, science, or special ed in low-income schools. It's a need that we have around the country. And therefore, I believe we ought

to increase student loan forgiveness from $5,000 to $17,500 to help teachers.

Finally, I'm a big believer in teacher training programs. The Reading First program that we put in place provides a lot of money to teach teachers how to teach and use curriculum that works. See, if you measure, you can determine whether or not the curriculum you're using is working. And when you find a curriculum that does work, then we ought to make sure we provide enough teacher training money so these good souls have got the skills necessary to achieve excellence in the classroom.

And so I'm joined today by Gene Hickok. He's a fellow Pennsylvania citizen. He is a former Pennsylvania secretary of education, a person I know well. I've worked with him a long time on achieving excellence in public schools.

Gene, it's good to see you. Why don't you tell us what it's like to be involved with proposing, passing, and implementing an historic piece of legislation.

[*Gene Hickok made brief remarks.*]

The President. Yes, I agree. Listen, here's the thing, that when Gene talks about a school full of children who some may think can't possibly learn, and they are learning, it basically says: One, there's a dedicated principal and great teachers; it also says that they're using the system to be able to solve problems today, as opposed to kind of ignoring the problems. And by that, it—for example, if a child falls behind in reading, there's extra Federal money, particularly for Title I students, to help that child with tutoring and after-school help. It provides money to make sure that child has an opportunity to get up to speed.

So the accountability system doesn't punish. Frankly, it exposes problems. It's a diagnostic tool. I've always said to people, "You can't solve a problem until you diagnose it." And we're diagnosing problems, and we're providing extra money to solve the problem.

And what Gene is saying is, people are using this system to be able to achieve excellence in the classrooms, and it's happening. How do you know? Because we're measuring, is how we know. We're able to measure progress. We're able to watch. It's called annual yearly progress. That's kind of the key word. Progress toward what? Progress toward excellence. Thank you, Gene, for being here.

Lou Ramos is with us. So why are you here, Lou? [*Laughter*] You're a member of the——

Luis A. Ramos. I'm a member of the State board of education, Mr. President.

The President. That's why you're here.

Mr. Ramos. That's why I'm here. [*Laughter*]

The President. Plus, you're a good man. That's why you're here.

Mr. Ramos. I do want to thank you for the opportunity to let you know that Pennsylvanians do not fear the "A" word, accountability. We're here for that, and we recognize that. We're up to the challenge.

But what's happening in Pennsylvania is that, in fact, we're making decisions based on data. We are, in a difficult times as far as funding education, and I do know that—I've studied the data, and you've increased funding for education by 37 percent. It could be a little more. We look for that. That has helped.

The President. You mean to Pennsylvania.

Mr. Ramos. In Pennsylvania.

The President. It's 49 percent nationwide.

Mr. Ramos. Forty-nine percent nationwide.

The President. This looks like a funding gap—we've got to do something about it. [*Laughter*]

[*Mr. Ramos made further remarks.*]

Mr. Ramos. So there's a lot I can share, and I want to do that, because I had my own story to share with you.

The President. Let's hear it.

Mr. Ramos. Well, actually, I'm always asked, "Why are you so passionate about education, considering that you worked for a large energy company, and you take time to do that?" And the answer is, as a young child, I came to the mainland from Puerto Rico, didn't speak a stitch of English. English was not my first language. It is today.

The President. Some people say it's not my first language, either. [*Laughter*]

[*Mr. Ramos made further remarks.*]

The President. What a great story. Let me tell you something about our country. Think about that, there's old Lou sitting next to the President of the United States, you know, talking about his dreams and aspirations.

Mr. Ramos. Only in America.

The President. It is only in America. And listen, and you know what—we want this story to be repeated neighborhood after neighborhood, school after school, by making sure no child is left behind. See, if you give the people the tools necessary, they can realize great dreams here in America. And the most important tool of all is to make sure every child has an education.

One of the things I learned as Governor of Texas and know as President of the United States, that every school—successful schools have got strong leaders, and that strong leader is the principal. And today we've got Sharen Finzimer with us today. She is the principal of F.S. Edmonds School, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Thanks for coming. What kind of school have you got there?

[*Sharen Finzimer made brief remarks.*]

The President. AYP means annual yearly progress. In other words, it is Government-speak for we're measuring to determine whether or not the children are heading toward excellence. Why—besides your brilliance, why?

[*Ms. Finzimer made further remarks.*]

The President. Let me stop you right there. Notice she said "research-based." In other words, what that means is, people have actually looked at what works and have incorporated what works into the textbooks. That's what we want. We want curriculum that actually achieves our objectives. Remember the old reading debates—there was—sometimes people had this notion about what might work, and we never knew whether it was or not until we started to measure. That's how you can say "research-based" textbooks.

Keep going.

[*Ms. Finzimer made further remarks.*]

The President. Interventions means, when they find the child beginning to slip behind what is expected, there's extra money to help. That's what this program is all about. When we say no child left behind, that's exactly what we mean, no child left behind. In other words, she's able to use technologies and to follow the progress of a child on a regular basis, which is a change from the past. The past used to be, they'd kind of just move them through. Now they're analyzing each child's progress and working to correct, if the child has a problem, working to correct his or her problem. I think that's what you're saying. And that's what you're doing, and it's working. It's making a difference.

Tell me about your Saturday school.

[*Ms. Finzimer made further remarks.*]

The President. You can understand why her school is doing well, right? She has a passion. And when she talks about Title I students, that's where our Federal Government has increased funding quite substantially, since I've been the President of the United States, nearly 50-percent increase in the funds for Title I, all aimed at making sure no child is left behind. You can't be a great principal unless you've got great teachers. We don't have one of your teachers here, but I know they're great teachers.

But we do have Megan Schmidt with us, a teacher. What subject?

Megan Schmidt. Mr. President, I teach English and creative writing at North Penn High School.

The President. Thanks for teaching. Tell us what you've learned.

[*Ms. Schmidt made further remarks.*]

The President. Let me pick up on one thing that Megan said. It makes the parents aware. It's a amazing—when Laura and I were honored to serve our State, we were traveling around, and people would say, "Gosh, my school is doing great. At least I think my school is doing great." And all of a sudden, when we started to put out the accountability measures, people would say, "Well, maybe it's not doing quite as great," when the test scores didn't measure up to the school in the community next door or another school in the same community. Accountability, allowing people to see results, really does encourage parental involvement.

Sometimes educators don't particularly care the way the parent has been involved, like, "How come you didn't tell us earlier? What are you doing about it?" But nevertheless, it does encourage parents to get involved, doesn't it?

Ms. Schmidt. Absolutely.

The President. Keep going.

Ms. Schmidt. Thank you.

[*Ms. Schmidt made further remarks.*]

The President. Let me say something. I hope people, particularly young, consider becoming teachers. It is such a noble profession, and it's such an important profession. I want to thank you for being here, Megan.

The temptation is to weaken No Child Left Behind. There's great temptation in Washington to say, "Gosh, well, let's kind of ease up. Maybe we shouldn't measure. Maybe we ought to use different criterion to determine whether or not people are meeting AYP—annual yearly progress." The guy I'm running against for President actual suggested maybe school attendance ought to be considered as to whether or not we're making annual yearly progress. That doesn't make any sense. What we want to do is to continue to focus on each child's ability to learn and correct problems now so we don't just shuffle them through the system. We're making great progress. We're closing the achievement gap. We're going to continue to fund education. We'll continue to help teachers train. We'll continue to insist upon strong accountability, and we're not turning back.

I want to talk a little bit about how to make America and the world safer. We have a solemn duty to protect the American people. I'd like to share with you a couple of the lessons I've learned from September the 11th, 2001. First of all, we face an enemy that is coldblooded. They have no conscience whatsoever. And therefore—and they're smart, and they're capable, and they're patient, and they're tough. And therefore, our Government must never yield, must never try to negotiate with them, must never hope that—for the best, that they change their ways. We must stay on the offensive and bring them to justice before they hurt us again here at home.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you all. Please. Thank you all. Thank you all.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Oh no, no, no, not yet. Not yet. Got a little more work to do here. [*Laughter*] Thank you, though.

Secondly, when the President speaks, he must mean what he says. He's got to be clear and understandable. And when you say something, you've got to follow through. I said I recognize this is a different kind of struggle than we've ever been used to. And it's a struggle that we will win, so long as we're resolute and determined.

I said that, if you provide safe haven for a terrorist, you're just as guilty as the terrorists. I meant that, because I understood that in order to find the kind of shadowy group of people, we had to rout them out of their safe havens. Remember, Al Qaida was training in Afghanistan. They had training bases. They literally trained thousands of people. They—the Al Qaida strategy in Afghanistan is clear. They were the parasite on a lenient host, and maybe at some point in time, had they been there long enough, they would have become the host. But their supporters were the Taliban, and these people were some kind of backwards. Here we are talking about—here we are—listen to this. Listen to this for a second. Here we are talking about education, and yet, they believed young girls shouldn't be educated. Think about growing up in a society like that, a society without hope, a society that said, "You're condemned for failure because you're a female." That's the way the Taliban was. It's hard for any American to envision somebody whose vision is that dim and dark.

I made it clear to the Taliban that they had to stop harboring Al Qaida. They didn't believe us. And so a great United States military went in and removed the Taliban from power. [*Applause*] Hold on a second. We're safer as a result of the actions that the U.S. military took, and the people of Afghanistan are better off.

Yesterday I met with President Karzai. He's running for election. Could you ever imagine somebody from the Taliban saying,

"I'm running for election"? [*Laughter*] This guy is out running for election. Think about what's happened in Afghanistan in a brief period of time. Young girls are now going to school, and we're helping to rebuild schools. Their moms are no longer subjected to being whipped in the public square because they don't happen to agree with the ideology of hatred that was being professed by the Taliban. Ten million Afghan citizens have registered to vote, 41 percent of whom are women. An election is going to take place in October. It's an unbelievable statistic.

People say, "Well, there are certain people who really don't want to be free in the world." I strongly disagree with that concept. I believe everybody wants to be free, and the Afghan people are showing that they want to be free. There's a lot of intimidation there. A lot of people—remember, they pulled the poor women off the bus—"they" being the Taliban—and killed them because they had, I think, voter registration cards. The Afghan people are not going to be stopped when it comes to freedom. They will defy these terrorists because freedom exists in their heart and soul. It's something they're willing to work for, and we have an obligation to help them. A free Afghanistan is in our Nation's interest. We're more secure because of the decision that we took in Afghanistan.

Let me talk about Iraq. One of the lessons that changed—one of the lessons we learned or must have learned or must never forget about September the 11th, is that we've got to take threats seriously, before they come to hurt us. When I was your age, if we saw a threat overseas, we could deal with it if we felt like it or not, because we never really dreamt that an attack would occur on America again. And that's the fundamental shift of our life here in America. September the 11th makes us realize that an enemy can strike us. And if we see threats overseas, we must take them seriously, before they hurt us.

Our hope, of course, is diplomacy works. That's why we're working with other nations to send a message to Iran and North Korea. There's more than one voice in saying to the North Koreans, "Disarm, and join the world as a peaceful nation." China is involved. Japan is involved. South Korea is involved. Russia is involved, and the United States of America. We're all saying the same thing. We want there to be a nuclear-weapons-free Korean Peninsula.

We always must try to deal with threats diplomatically. Now, in Iraq, we saw a threat. The threat was, was that Saddam Hussein was a sworn enemy of America. He had used weapons of mass destruction. He had terrorist connections, Abu Abbas, Abu Nidal, Zarqawi. He paid the families of suicide bombers. And the greatest threat facing us was whether or not he would be able to share his capability of producing weapons, or weapons that we thought were there, with an enemy that would like to inflict more harm. It's why I went to the United Nations, to try to solve this problem diplomatically.

I said, "Listen, we've got a problem. We see a threat." The Congress spoke, by the way. They looked at the same intelligence I looked at and remembered the same history I did and voted overwhelmingly to authorize the use of force. My opponent made that same decision. He voted to authorize the use of force. He remembered—he said Saddam Hussein was a threat then. [*Laughter*]

The United Nations passed a resolution 15 to nothing that said, "Disclose, disarm, or face serious consequences." As I said yesterday at the United Nations, when you say something, you better mean it. In order to keep the world more peaceful, when an international body says "face serious consequences," they better mean what they say. Saddam Hussein had no intention of disclosing or disarming, because he didn't believe there would be serious consequences. He had ignored the demands of the world in 2003 just like he had done for the last decade. They wanted to send inspectors into his country. He systematically deceived them.

So I've got a choice. The choice is: Do I forget the lessons of September the 11th; do I hope for the best when it comes to Saddam Hussein; or do I take action to defend the country? If given that choice, I'll defend America every time. The world is safer with Saddam Hussein sitting in a prison cell, and so is America.

A couple other points I want to make right quick. Anytime we put our troops in harm's

way, they must have the full support of the Federal Government. This is an obligation of our Government to say to the troops and their loved ones, "We'll give you the tools you need to complete your mission."

That's why a year ago I went to the Congress and asked for a supplemental funding of $87 billion. It was money to support our troops in Afghanistan and in Iraq. We're talking about spare parts, ammunition, fuel, body armor, hazard pay, health benefits. It was really important legislation. It received overwhelming support in the Senate and in the House. Only 12 Senators voted against it, 2 of whom are my opponent and his runningmate. [*Laughter*] As a matter of fact, those two, my opponent and his runningmate voted—were two of four people who voted for the authorization of force and against funding the troops in harm's way.

Of course, you've heard the famous statement he made. They said, "Why did you do it?" He said, "Well, I actually did vote for the $87 billion, before I voted against it." The President of the United States must speak clearly and mean what he says.

We're doing hard work in Iraq right now. It's hard to help a country go from tyranny to elections to peace when there are a handful of people who are willing to kill in order to stop the process. And that's what you're seeing on the TV screens. These people cannot beat us militarily, and so they use the only tool at their disposal, which is beheadings and death, to try to shake our will. They understand the nature of America. American people value every human life. We believe in the dignity and worth of every human being. We have a conscience. We weep when we think about the families affected by those who have been brutalized by these terrorists. And they are hoping, these terrorists are hoping, to shake the will of the Iraqi people and of the American people. They know what's on our TV screens.

I met yesterday with Prime Minister Allawi. He's the Prime Minister of Iraq. He said as clearly as he could to me that not only are we making progress, but the Iraqi people want to be free. They are not going to allow these thugs to intimidate them as they head toward elections and a free society. Everybody wants to be free, and we must not allow these thugs and killers to stop the advance of freedom in Iraq.

These are critical times, and I'm glad the Prime Minister is here to reinforce the strategy we have in place. Listen, our military is working with the Iraqi Interim Government. They're flexible. They're changing their tactics on the ground to meet the tactics of the enemy. We're building—rebuilding Iraq. And it's tough, at times, because once you build something, they blow it up. But there is steady progress, in terms of reconstruction. For example, electricity is higher today than it was during—before our arrival to remove Saddam Hussein from power. More and more children are going to school. More and more children are being immunized. Hospitals are opening up. There is progress being made, and they're going to have elections in January.

The way to prevail, the way toward the successful conclusion we all want, the way to secure Iraq and bring our troops home as quickly as possible is not to wilt or waver or send mixed signals to the enemy.

My opponent is sending mixed signals. He has had many different positions on Iraq. Incredibly, this week he said he would prefer the dictatorship of Saddam Hussein to the situation in Iraq today.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. You cannot lead the war against terror if you wilt or waver when times get tough. You cannot expect the Iraqi people to stand up and do the hard work of democracy if you're pessimistic about their ability to govern themselves. You cannot expect our troops to continue doing the hard work if they hear mixed messages from Washington, DC. Mixed signals are wrong signals. I'll continue to speak clearly. I'll continue to lead. And I'm confident we'll achieve our objectives, and the world will be better off and more secure.

One more point I want to make. Please sit down for a second. [*Laughter*] It's not going to be a long point. [*Laughter*] So I was with my friend Prime Minister Koizumi yesterday in New York City. I said, "You know I've been talking about you on the campaign trail." He said, "Keep talking about me." I said, "Good. I will." [*Laughter*]

And here's why I'm talking about him. He and I are friends, and Laura and the Prime Minister are friends as well. He's been to our ranch. We sat down at the—talking about different issues facing the world. Think about that for a minute, in the context of World War II. Really, 60 years ago, Japan was a sworn enemy of the United States of America. A lot of people lost their life in fighting against the Japanese in World War II. They had attacked our country, of course, the last major attack on our country since September—prior to September the 11th.

And after the end of World War II, Harry Truman, my predecessor, and other Americans believed that Japan could self-govern; it could be a democracy. That's what they believed. And they believed that because they believe every person desires to be free. And they believed that because—and they hoped that because they knew free societies would be peaceful societies. And there were skeptics, of course, just like there are in any society. People said, "Well, gosh, you can't do that. How can you possibly believe that our enemy could become a friend? How could you possibly believe Japan could become a democracy?" But they believed, and they worked hard, and Japan did become a democracy.

And today, as a result of Japan becoming a democracy—today, as a result of liberty being spread to parts of the world where there was hatred—I sit down with the Prime Minister of Japan talking about keeping the peace we all want. And that's going to happen, so long as we're resolute and steadfast in our belief in liberty. It's going to happen in our day. It's going to make the lives of these folks a lot more peaceful, because someday an American President is going to be sitting down with a duly elected leader of Iraq talking about peace in the greater Middle East, talking about how to make this world a peaceful place.

These are historic times. I'm driven by my desire to protect the American people. I'll be steadfast in my resolve to do everything I can to make you secure. But I'm also driven by my deep belief that every soul yearns for liberty. Listen, freedom is not America's gift to the world; freedom is the Almighty God's gift to each man and woman in this world.

I want to thank you all for coming out. Thank you for your vote. Thank you for your support. May God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:50 a.m. at the Valley Forge Convention Center. In his remarks, he referred to Melissa Brown, candidate for Congress in Pennsylvania's 13th Congressional District; Jean Craige Pepper, candidate for Pennsylvania State treasurer; Karen A. Stout, president, Montgomery County Community College; President Hamid Karzai of Afghanistan; senior Al Qaida associate Abu Musab Al Zarqawi; Prime Minister Ayad Allawi of the Iraqi Interim Government; and Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi of Japan. The transcript released by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the remarks of the First Lady, who introduced the President.

Remarks on Recovery Efforts in Millvale, Pennsylvania

September 22, 2004

Listen, thank you all for coming. I have just flown over Allegheny County. I have seen the devastation that took place. The storm and the floods were lethal, and they cause a lot of heartache and damage. I know there are people in this part of our country who are grieving for lost ones, and we send our prayers to all who grieve.

I know there are people here who are concerned as to whether or not they'll ever get their life back together. I hope my visit here with the Senators and Congressmen say as clearly as we can that we care about the devastation that took place, that we understand the Federal Government has an obligation to help, and we will.

Most of all, I'm here to thank the people of this community who have risen up to deal with the hardship. My message not only is to the people of the Millvale but is to Etna and Carnegie as well, communities in this part of the world that were hard hit. You know, the volunteer firefighters here, I was honored to be able to shake hands with some. I looked in the guy's eyes and said, "You got flood eyes"—obviously, he had no sleep. He's doing all he could do to help save lives and help begin to heal the hurt.

The first thing I want to do is thank all the first-responders, firefighters and the police and the EMS teams. I want to thank Dave Sanko, of the State of Pennsylvania for—he's the FEMA—he's the emergency management director who has been on top of the situation ever since the flood started to come. I'm absolutely convinced that as a result of the coordination between the Federal Government, the State government, and local governments, loss of life had been minimized. Dave has done a terrific job, and I appreciate your service to your State.

Mike Brown is with me. He's the head of the FEMA. I'm down here to let people know that FEMA is going to move quickly. The best way to make sure people understand FEMA is going to move quickly is bring the main guy with me and let the mayor, Mayor Burn, talk to him and county executive of Allegheny Country. I wanted him to hear firsthand what the people in these communities and this county have been through. And I want Brown to know that he's going to respond as quickly as he can, and that's what I want the people to know.

I want to thank the local officials who are working hard to help the people in this community. You know, what happens when these disasters hit: The real character of a community comes out; people show up; neighbors love neighbors; firefighters help save lives. You met the storm—this storm with compassion and courage. You showed the true spirit of the American people by how you've responded and are responding to this—these floods.

I want to thank the National Guard and Coast Guardsmen who worked hard all across the State of Pennsylvania to save lives and do their duty. I want to thank the power workers, people that—and the telephone crews—for getting electricity back up and running for the people of this part of the world. I know there are some homes that still don't have their electricity hooked up, but I've been assured that the power company is working as hard as they can to get electricity up. I know there's some people without natural gas. I know they're working hard to get the natural gas lines fixed so people can have power in their homes.

I appreciate the men and women of the Red Cross. The Red Cross has been tested during the last months. I've seen Red Cross workers all across our country. They're out there providing compassion and care. The Red Cross is a great organization, mainly because it's got great workers, people who care a lot.

I want to thank the faith-based communities who have been responding to this disaster. You know, the concept of neighbor loving neighbor is a powerful concept. It helps lift people's spirits. I met the lady who runs the food bank here. She's working overtime to make sure people have got something to eat. I want to appreciate all those who are working at the food banks. I asked her, I said, "Do you have enough food to make sure the good people of this part of the world got something on the table to eat?" She said, "Absolutely." People are responding to the crisis, and out of the harm is coming some good.

I want to let you know that we're dedicated to responding as quickly as we possibly can. I've been told that those who have registered with FEMA have started to receive checks. I urge people to find out the facts, to get 800 numbers that are available, and to sign up for help. We can't help you unless you sign up for the help.

Again, I want to reassure the people of western Pennsylvania that a lot of people are praying for you. You know, I saw the look in the people's eyes when I was driving through the town here—small-business owners and entrepreneurs whose businesses were destroyed, their stuff piled up in front of their business, wondering whether or not there's a future. There is a future. I predict to you, Mr. Mayor, that within a reasonable period of time this town is going to be back on its feet, better than ever, more hopeful than ever.

We ask God's blessings on everybody who lives here. And may God continue to bless our country. Thank you all for coming.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:19 p.m. In his remarks, he referred to David M. Sanko, director, Pennsylvania Emergency Management Agency; Mayor James Burn of Millvale, PA; and Dan Onorato, Allegheny County Chief Executive.

Remarks in Latrobe, Pennsylvania

September 22, 2004

The President. Thank you all very much for coming. I'm proud you all are here. Thanks for coming out to say hello.

How good does it get to be introduced by Arnold Palmer? What a fantastic citizen of our country. I'm proud to be here in his hometown. He said, "Have you ever heard of Rolling Rock?" I said, "I quit drinking." [*Laughter*]

But thank you all for coming out today. I'm asking for the vote, is what I'm doing here today in Pennsylvania. I like getting out amongst the people and letting them know I've got a reason for running—to serve you for 4 more years.

I'm here to tell you what my plans are for the future of our country. I'm also here to ask for your help. I'd like for you to register your friends and neighbors to vote. We have a duty in this country to vote. Call upon your friends and neighbors to exercise their responsibility. And when you're out registering people to vote, don't overlook discerning Democrats like Zell Miller. And when you get them headed toward the polls, tell them that if they want this to be a safer, stronger, better America, to put me and Dick Cheney back in office.

I'm sorry Laura is not with me today.

Audience members. Aw-w-w!

The President. I know it. I don't blame you. When I asked her to marry me, she said, "Fine, just so long as I never have to give a speech." I said, "Okay, fine, you'll never have to give a speech." Fortunately, she didn't hold me to my word. [*Laughter*] The people of this country got to see her in New York City giving a speech. They saw how compassionate, strong, and decent she is. She's a great mom, a great wife, a wonderful First Lady. I'm going to give you some reasons to put me back in, but perhaps the most important one of all is so Laura is First Lady for 4 more years.

I'm proud to be running with Dick Cheney. He's a good man. Now look, I admit it. I admit it, he doesn't have the waviest hair in the race. [*Laughter*] I didn't pick him for his hair. I picked him because he's a man of great judgment, sound experience, and he can get the job done on behalf of the American people.

Listen, you did a good job of training Tom Ridge. And I did a smart thing by picking him to run the new Department of Homeland Security.

I want to thank the United States Senators who are with me today. I'm here to ask you to put Arlen Specter back in the United States Senate for 6 more years. I'm proud to be traveling with the other Senator, Rick Santorum. I want to thank Congressman Tim Murphy, the Congressman from this district. I call him Murph. I want to thank Congresswoman Melissa Hart from the great State of Pennsylvania for joining us.

I want to thank all the candidates who are here and local and State officials. Thanks for serving Pennsylvania and your communities.

I want to thank my friend Lynn Swann. He and I worked together to try to promote physical fitness. You need to walk. [*Laughter*] You want to stay healthy, get some exercise. And I appreciate my friend Lynn Swann for supporting my candidacy.

I want to thank John Michael Montgomery for singing here today.

I just came from Millvale, where I saw the devastation caused by the floods of Ivan. I assure you that we're helping as much as we possibly can to help people restore their lives, and that the prayers of the people of this country are with those who suffer.

I'm looking forward to this campaign. I like to campaign, because I like to be with people. I'm looking forward to telling people where I stand, what I believe, and where I'm going to lead this Nation for the next 4 years.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. I went to Washington to solve problems, not to pass them on to future Presidents and future generations. I saw a problem with Medicare. See, Medicare was—is a very important program, but it wasn't changing with medicine. There was a problem. For example, Medicare would pay $100,000 to—for heart surgery for a senior but wouldn't pay for the prescription drugs to prevent the heart surgery from being needed in the first place. That's a problem. It's a problem for our seniors, who deserve modern medicine in Medicare. It's a problem

for the taxpayers. So I brought Republicans and the Democrats together to strengthen Medicare. In 2006, our seniors will get prescription drug coverage. We're not turning back to the old days.

When we came into office, the economy was turning south. The stock market had been in decline prior to our arrival. The first three quarters of my Presidency were a recession. We started to recover a little bit, and then we found out some of our citizens didn't tell the truth. Some CEOs forgot what it meant to be a responsible citizen in this country. By the way, we passed tough laws that now make it abundantly clear, we're not going to tolerate dishonesty in the boardrooms of our country. Then we got hit with an attack, and that hurt us. It cost us about a million jobs in the 3 months after September the 11th.

There was a problem. We're overcoming those problems. We're overcoming those obstacles because our workers are great, our farmers know what they're doing, the entrepreneurial spirit is strong. We're overcoming those problems because of well-timed tax cuts.

Our economy has been growing at rates as fast as any in nearly 20 years. The national unemployment rate is at 5.4 percent, which is lower than the average of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. Inflation is low. Mortgage rates are low. You're adding jobs here in the State of Pennsylvania. This economy is growing, and we're not going to go backwards. We're not turning back to the old days.

I believe the most solemn duty of the American President is to protect the American people. If America shows uncertainty and weakness in this decade, the world will drift toward tragedy. This will not happen on my watch.

I'm running for President with a clear and positive plan to build a safer world and a more hopeful America. I'm running with a compassionate conservative philosophy that Government should help people improve their lives, not try to run their lives. And I believe this Nation wants steady, principled leadership. And that's why, with your help, we're going to carry Pennsylvania and win a great victory in November.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. I believe every child can learn and every school must teach. I went to Washington to challenge the soft bigotry of low expectations. We passed a new law called the No Child Left Behind Act. It raises standards. It uses accountability to solve problems early, before a child simply gets shuffled through the schools. It trusts the local people to make the right decision for the schools and the community in which you live. This law is making a difference. Here in the State of Pennsylvania, 81 percent of the Pennsylvania schools are meeting higher standards. That's up from 62 percent in just one year.

Across this Nation, test scores are rising. African American and Hispanic students are closing the achievement gap here in America. We're making progress in this country, and we're not turning back to the old days of low expectations.

We'll do more to improve education and prepare our children for the future. Listen, we've got a changing job force. Most new jobs are filled by people with at least 2 years of college, yet one in four of our students gets there. That's why, at our high schools, we'll fund early intervention programs to help at-risk students. We'll emphasize math and science so our kids can fill the jobs of the 21st century. We'll reward teachers who gets results for their students. We'll give our best teachers incentives to teach in the neediest schools. Over time, we'll require a rigorous exam before graduation. By raising performance in our high schools and expanding Pell grants for low and middle-income Americans, we will help more of our citizens start their career with a college diploma.

Listen, I understand the world in which we live is changing. Think about what happened over the course of the last couple of decades. It used to be a person would work for one company, have one career. They'd have one pension plan, one health care plan. That person was a man. Today, our workers change jobs and careers, and women are working not only inside the house but outside the house. This workforce has changed, yet the systems of Government have not changed with the times. The pension plans, health

coverage, the Tax Code, and worker training were created in a world of yesterday, not tomorrow. I'm running for President to transform these systems so that all citizens are equipped, prepared, and thus truly free to make your own choices and to realize the great promise of our country.

Listen, I understand a hopeful society is one in which the economy is growing. If we want to keep jobs here in America, America must be the best place in the world to do business. If we want people to find work here, we've got to do something about these regulations and lawsuits that are making it hard on the employers in the State of Pennsylvania.

If we want to keep jobs here, Congress needs to pass my energy plan. Listen, in order to make sure this economy grows, we've got to encourage conservation, the use of renewables such as ethanol and biodiesel. We've got to use—modernize the electricity grid. We've got to use technologies to make sure we can use our coal. I'm for clean coal technology. We've got to use our technology so we can explore for natural gas in environmentally friendly ways. In order to keep jobs here in America, we must be less dependent on foreign sources of energy.

In order to keep jobs, we've got to reject economic isolationism. See, we open up our markets for a—for goods from overseas, and that's good for you. If you've got more—more to choose from, you're likely going to get the good you want at a better price and higher quality. What I'm saying to places like China is, "You treat us the way we're treating you." And I'm saying that because I know we can compete with anybody, anytime, anywhere so long as the rules are fair.

In order to make sure we've got jobs here, to make sure this recovery we have is a sustained—is sustained economic growth, we've got to be wise about how we spend your money and keep your taxes low. Taxes are an issue in this campaign. I'm running against a fellow who has promised $2.2 trillion of new Federal spending so far.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. That $2.2 trillion is a lot, even for a Senator from Massachusetts. [*Laughter*] So they said, "How are you going to pay for it? How are you going to pay for this new spending?" He said, "We're going to tax the rich." Now, you've heard that before, haven't you? Here's the problem with that. You can't raise enough money by taxing the rich to pay for $2.2 trillion. There's a tax gap. And guess who always gets stuck with the bill? I'll tell you something else about that language, "tax the rich." The rich hire lawyers and accountants for a reason, so you get stuck with the bill. We're not going to let John Kerry tax you, because we're going to carry Pennsylvania and win in November.

Say something else about the Tax Code. That Tax Code needs to be changed. It's a complicated mess. It's full of special interest loopholes. In a new term, I'm going to bring Republicans and Democrats together to simplify the Tax Code and make it more fair for the American people.

In a changing world, the economy changes, the nature of the jobs change, and oftentimes, there's a skills gap. That's why I'm such a big believer in the community college system. We're going to expand access to our community colleges so our workers are going to be able to gain the skills necessary to fill the jobs of the 21st century.

In a changing world, we've got to think about how to provide stability in people's lives. One way to provide stability in a person's life is to encourage ownership. We want more people owning their own home. Do you realize, under my administration, the homeownership rate in America is at an alltime high? Over the next 4 years, we'll continue to expand ownership so more and more people are able to open up the door where they live and say, "Welcome to my home. Welcome to my piece of property."

In changing times, we need to reform our health care system. The costs are rising rapidly. I've got a commonsense, practical plan to make sure health care is available and affordable. When it comes to health care, my opponent wants the Government to dictate.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. He wants the Government to decide. When it comes to health care, I want you to decide. More than half of the Americans who are currently uninsured are small-business employees and their families. We've got to change law to allow small firms

to pool together so they can purchase insurance at the same discounts that big businesses get.

My opponent opposes association health plans. Those are the plans that will give small businesses the opportunity to afford insurance so their workers can have insurance. I believe that we need to continue to expand tax-free health savings accounts. We'll give small businesses credits that encourage them to put money in health savings accounts. We want more workers to have their own health savings accounts so they can base medical decision on advice from their doctor, not because of people at HMOs.

I believe we have an obligation to help the poor in this country. That's why I want to expand community health centers, places where the poor and the indigent can get good preventative care and good primary care. I want a community health center in every poor county in America.

I'm going to tell you what else you've got a problem with in this State, and many others do as well in other States. One reason your costs of health care are going up, and one reason it's harder to find a doc these days, like ob-gyns, is because of the frivolous lawsuits. You cannot be pro-doctor, pro-patient and pro-trial-lawyer at the same time. You have to choose. My opponent made his choice, and he put a trial lawyer on the ticket. I made my choice: I'm standing with the docs and the patients and the hospitals. I am for medical liability reform—now. In all we do to make sure health care works in America, we'll make sure the decisions are made by doctors and patients, not by bureaucrats in our Nation's Capital.

I see we've got some young workers here. I want to talk about Social Security right quick. I told you systems have changed—or systems haven't changed, and they're stuck in the past. Listen, if you're a senior, you will get your Social Security check. You should not listen to the political nonsense that happens in the course of a campaign. The Social Security trust has got enough money to fulfill its promise to those who are receiving Social Security today.

If you're a baby boomer, like me—[*laughter*]—leading edge of the baby boomers, I might add—[*laughter*]—we're going to be in pretty good shape when it comes to Social Security. We need to worry about our children and our grandchildren when it comes to Social Security. I believe younger workers ought to be able to take some of their own money and set up a personal savings account that earns better interest than the Social Security trust, a personal savings account they can call their own and a personal savings account Government cannot take away.

Listen, in a world of change, some things don't change, the values we try to live by, courage and compassion, reverence and integrity. In times of change, we will support the institutions that give our lives direction and purpose, our families, our schools, our religious congregations. We stand for a culture of life in which every person matters and every being counts. We stand for marriage and family, which are the foundations of our society. We stand for the second amendment, which gives every American the individual right to bear arms. And I stand for the appointment of Federal judges who know the difference between personal opinion and the strict interpretation of the law.

This election also determines how America responds to the continuing danger of terrorism. Since the terrible morning of September the 11th, 2001, we have fought the terrorists around the world, not for pride, not for power, but because the lives of our citizens are at stake. Our strategy is clear: We're defending the homeland; we're transforming our military; we're strengthening our intelligence services; we're staying on the offensive; we're striking the terrorists abroad so we do not have to face them here at home.

We'll work to advance liberty in the broader Middle East and around the world. And by being steadfast and resolved, we'll prevail. Our strategy is succeeding. Four years ago, Afghanistan was the home base of Al Qaida; Pakistan was the transit point for terrorist groups; Saudi Arabia was fertile ground for terrorist fundraising; Libya was secretly pursuing nuclear weapons; Iraq was a gathering threat; Al Qaida was largely unchallenged as it planned attacks.

Because we led, Afghanistan is fighting terror; Pakistan is capturing terrorist leaders; Saudi Arabia is making raids and arrests; Libya is dismantling its weapons programs;

the army of a free Iraq is fighting for freedom; and more than three-quarters of Al Qaida's key members and associates have been brought to justice.

We've led. Many have joined, and America and the world are safer. And this progress involved careful diplomacy, clear moral purpose, and some hard decisions.

Our hardest came on Iraq. We knew Saddam Hussein's record of aggression and support for terror. We know he had harbored Abu Nidal, the leader of a terrorist organization that carried out attacks in Europe and Asia. We knew Saddam harbored Abu Abbas, who found refuge in Baghdad after he killed American Leon Klinghoffer. We knew he paid the families of suicide bombers. We knew Saddam Hussein harbored Zarqawi, the terrorist we have seen who has beheaded some of our citizens. We knew they were there. We knew that Saddam Hussein was a sworn enemy of the United States of America. We knew that he had pursued and used weapons of mass destruction. We knew we had been at war with him once before. We knew he was a threat. And after September the 11th, this Nation must think differently about threats. We must take threats seriously before they fully materialize.

I went to the United States Congress. Members of both political parties, including my opponent, looked at the same intelligence I was looking at, remembered the same history I remembered, and voted to authorize the use of force.

Before the United States President ever commits people into harm's way, he must try all options to deal with the threat. I was hoping that diplomacy would work. I was hoping we could deal with the threat in Iraq by the use of diplomacy. That's why I went to the United Nations. At the United Nations, I made my case. They looked at the same intelligence I looked at. They remembered the history of Saddam Hussein and passed yet another resolution, 15 to nothing, that said, "Disclose, disarm, or face serious consequences." I believe when international bodies speak, they better mean what they say.

Saddam Hussein once again did not listen to the demands of the free world. He ignored this resolution, just like he ignored resolution after resolution after resolution for nearly a decade. He just didn't believe "serious consequences." He was hoping we'd look the other way. He was hoping that we would continue with the failed policy. As a matter of fact, when we sent inspectors in—or the U.N. sent inspectors into Iraq, he systematically deceived the inspectors. That's what he did. So I had a choice to make at this time. Diplomacy has failed. Do I trust Saddam Hussein? Do I forget the lessons of September the 11th, or take action to defend this country? Given that choice, I will defend America every time.

Because we acted in our self-interest, 50 million people in Afghanistan and Iraq now live in freedom. Do you realize, a little more than 3 years ago, young girls couldn't go to school in Afghanistan because that country was run by some barbarians whose dim vision of the world is the exact opposite of ours. Their moms could be pulled out in the public square and whipped or sports stadium and killed because they wouldn't toe the line of this ideology of hate. Today, 10 million citizens, 41 percent of whom are women, have registered to vote in the upcoming October Presidential election. Amazing, isn't it?

How powerful a statistic is that? Three years to go from darkness to light because of a free society. It's in our interests that Afghanistan no longer is a safe haven for Al Qaida. It's in our interests that Afghanistan has now joined us in fighting the terrorists. It's in our interests to spread freedom, because free societies are peaceful societies.

Despite ongoing acts of violence, Iraq has a strong Prime Minister, with whom I met yesterday and will meet tomorrow and hold a press conference with him. I can't wait for the American people to hear this man. He's strong. He's tough. He was lying in a bed one night in London, and he wakes up—late at night, he was asleep—wakes up late at night; two henchmen from Saddam Hussein are by his bed with an ax trying to ax this man to death. He, fortunately, was able to get out of the situation. Today, he's the Prime Minister of Iraq. You talk about a guy who understands the stakes, somebody who understands what it means to live under the thumb of a thug. Prime Minister Allawi believes in the future of the people. They're going to have elections in January in Iraq.

When America gives its word, America will keep its word. We'll stand with the people of Afghanistan and Iraq.

Our mission in Afghanistan and Iraq is clear. We'll help the new leaders train their armies so the citizens of Afghanistan and Iraq can do the hard work of defeating the few who want to stop the ambitions of the many. We will help them get on the path of stability and democracy as quickly as possible, and then our troops will come home with the honor they have earned.

We have a great United States military, and I'm proud to be their Commander in Chief. I've had the privilege of meeting with the service men and women who defend our country and sacrifice for our security. I know their courage and their great decency. The cause of freedom is in really good hands. And I want to thank the veterans who are here today for having set such a great example for those who wear the uniform today.

Our Government must support the men and women of our uniform. We owe it to them, and we owe it to their loved ones. That's why I went to the United States Congress a year ago and asked for $87 billion in supplemental funding that was crucial money needed for our troops who were in harm's way in both Afghanistan and Iraq. That money was for ammunition and fuel and spare parts and body armor and hazard pay and health benefits. It was vital request. We received great support, bipartisan support. Republicans and Democrats said, "This is vital funding." As a matter of fact, it was so strong that only 12 Members of the Senate voted against funding the troops——

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. ——only 12 Members, 2 of whom were my opponent and his runningmate.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Only 4 Members of the Senate, only 4 out of 100, voted to authorize the use of force and then voted against funding the troops. Two of those four are my opponent and his runningmate.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. So they asked him—they said, "How could you have made that vote?" He said, "I actually did vote for the $87 billion, right before I voted against it." Not a lot of people talk like that in Latrobe, Pennsylvania. And they pressed him further. He finally just said, "The whole thing is a complicated matter." There's nothing complicated about supporting our troops in combat.

Prime Minister Allawi said yesterday that we're making progress in Iraq. Yet as we're seeing on our TV screens, it's tough; it's hard work. It's incredibly hard work, because the terrorists are desperate. They're trying to affect the elections in Iraq. They can't stand the thought of the people of that country voting to decide who their leaders are. They want to impose their dim vision on the people of that country. That's what they're trying to do, and that's why you're seeing on your TV screens awful brutality. Those terrorists will not defeat our military. They cannot defeat our military. The only thing they can do is behead people and try to shake our will.

They're trying to shake the will of the Iraqis. They're trying to convince the Iraqis freedom is not worth it. They're trying to convince the American people that we will not succeed. That's the only weapon they have. They don't understand our country. We abhor the violence. We can't stand the beheadings, but we're not going to let thugs keep us from doing our duty.

We have a strategy to help this country get to elections. We have a strategy to bring security to that country. Our military commanders have got flexibility to do their job. They're adjusting to conditions on the ground. We're helping the Iraqis rebuild their country. But one thing we will do—we will show our troops, the Iraqi people, the world, and our enemies that America will stand firm, and we will prevail.

And the way to prevail, the way toward the successful conclusion we all want, the way to secure Iraq and bring our troops home is not to wilt or waver or send mixed signals. Incredibly, this week, my opponent said he would prefer the dictatorship of Saddam Hussein to the situation in Iraq today.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. That's not the first time he's changed positions. You cannot lead the war on terror if you wilt or waver when the times are tough. You cannot expect the Iraqi people to stand up and do the hard work

for democracy if you are pessimistic about their ability to govern themselves. You can't expect the Iraqi people to have faith when you believe they were better off with Saddam Hussein in power. You can't expect these people to trust America if we think mass graves are the wave of the future of these people and the torture rooms of Saddam Hussein.

What kind of message does this send our troops, who are risking their lives and see firsthand the mission is hard, when they hear people who grow—when they wilt in the face of pressure? No, this mission is crucial to our success, and it's crucial to our future, and it's crucial to freedom. Mixed signals are the wrong signals. I will continue to lead with clarity, and when I say something, I mean it. I appreciate——

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. I had a chance to visit with some of our friends and allies who are making contributions to our coalition in Afghanistan and Iraq. I had a chance to thank them on behalf of the American people for the sacrifices they're making, for the sacrifices their moms and dads of those troops—their troops, and the husbands and wives of their troops are making. I'm proud of the coalition we've put together. We've got some 40 nations involved in Afghanistan, some 30 in Iraq. And I'm going to continue to lead, to build these alliances over the next 4 years. But I will never turn over America's national security decisions to leaders of other countries.

I believe in the transformational power of liberty. You know, I sat down with Prime Minister Koizumi yesterday. I said, "I'm using your name quite a bit when I'm traveling around the country." I said, "I hope it's all right." [*Laughter*] "Sometimes, I'm telling the people you like Elvis too." [*Laughter*] I like to tell my—about my relationship with Prime Minister Koizumi because it wasn't all that long ago in the march of history that we were at war with the Japanese. They were the sworn enemy of the United States of America. As a matter of fact, I bet you a lot of your relatives fought against the Japanese. I know my dad did, and many others did as well.

And after we won in World War II, Harry S. Truman, President of the United States, wanted to work for democracy in Japan because he believed liberty could transform nations. And you can bet there were some skeptics. There were skeptics then, just like there are some skeptics today. A lot of people in America said, "Why do we want to work with an enemy? This enemy can't change its ways. We just fought them." But a lot of citizens didn't agree with that. Japan did become a democracy. And today, I sit down at the table with a former enemy, talking about achieving the peace we all want.

Liberty is powerful. One day, an American President is going to be sitting down with a duly elected official from Iraq, talking about how to keep the peace. And our children and grandchildren will be better off for it.

It's hard work to spread liberty, particularly in societies that have only known tyranny. But I believe the women of the greater Middle East desire to be free. I believe they want to be able to realize their dreams. I believe if they're the mother of a young girl, they want that young girl to be able to grow up and be anything she can be in life. I believe if given a chance, the people in that part of the world will embrace the most honorable form of government ever devised by man. I believe these things because freedom is not America's gift to the world; freedom is the Almighty God's gift to each man and woman in this world.

I said in my convention speech, we've done the hard work. We've climbed the mountain, and now we can see the valley below. And that valley is a peaceful valley. That valley is a hopeful valley. That valley is a better day for every single citizen who lives in this country. This young century will be liberty's century. By promoting freedom at home and abroad, we'll build a safer world and a more hopeful America. By reforming our systems of Government, we'll help more Americans realize their dreams. We'll pass the enduring values of our country to a new generation. We'll continue to work to spread freedom and peace.

You know, for all Americans, these years in our history will always stand apart. There are quiet times in the life of a nation when

little is expected of its leaders. This isn't one of those times. This is a time that requires firm resolve, clear vision, and a deep faith in the values that make us a great nation.

None of us will ever forget that week when one era ended and another began. On September the 14th, 2001, I stood in the ruins of the Twin Towers. It's a day I will never forget. There were workers there in hardhats yelling at me at the top of their lungs, "Whatever it takes." I remember working the ropeline, doing my best to console those folks who had just been doing everything they could to find a buddy out of the rubble, save people from harm's way. A guy grabbed me by the arm, and he said, "Don't let me down." Those were impressions I'll never forget. I wake up every morning trying to figure out how best to defend our country. I will defend the security of America, whatever it takes.

When I campaigned—4 years ago, when I campaigned in your great State asking for the vote, I made a pledge to my fellow Americans. I said if you gave me a chance to serve, I would uphold the honor and the dignity of the office to which I had been elected. With your help, with your hard work, I will do so for 4 more years.

May God bless you. Thank you all for coming. Thank you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:15 p.m. at Arnold Palmer Regional Airport. In his remarks, he referred to professional golfer Arnold Palmer; Senator Zell Miller of Georgia, who made the keynote address at the Republican National Convention; Lynn C. Swann, chairman, President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports; country music entertainer John Michael Montgomery; senior Al Qaida associate Abu Musab Al Zarqawi; Prime Minister Ayad Allawi of the Iraqi Interim Government; and Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi of Japan.

Statement on Senate Confirmation of Porter J. Goss as Director of Central Intelligence

September 22, 2004

I am very pleased that a strong bipartisan majority in the U.S. Senate today voted to confirm Porter Goss as the next Director of Central Intelligence. Porter Goss is a leader with strong experience in intelligence and in the fight against terrorism. He is the right man to take on the essential mission of leading the CIA at this critical moment in our Nation's history as we face the challenges and the dangerous threats of this century. I look forward to his counsel as we implement intelligence reform, including the recommendations of the 9/11 Commission.

Joint Statement Between the United States of America and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan

September 22, 2004

President George W. Bush and President Pervez Musharraf met in New York on September 22, and reaffirmed their commitment to broaden and strengthen the U.S.-Pakistan relationship in keeping with the vision agreed to in their meeting at Camp David in June last year.

The two Presidents reviewed progress in the global war on terror, and pledged to continue working together, ensuring that the appropriate resources are available. President Bush expressed appreciation for Pakistan's efforts in this area. They also welcomed the progress of the Joint Working Group on Terrorism and Law Enforcement and agreed to further strengthen bilateral cooperation in this regard.

President Musharraf highlighted the need for addressing the underlying causes that have given rise to disaffection and frustration in the Islamic world. In this connection, he recalled his concept of Enlightened Moderation which envisages cooperation of the United States and other leading world powers in finding solutions to long standing issues that affect the Muslim world.

The two leaders also noted their cooperation to stop the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and committed to sustain full efforts towards this end.

The two leaders discussed the importance of building security and prosperity in the region. They noted the urgency of maintaining a safe environment for fair elections in Afghanistan and President Bush thanked President Musharraf for his efforts in support of out-of-country voting in Pakistan.

President Bush noted the significant economic progress that Pakistan has made in recent years, and reaffirmed U.S. support for Pakistan's efforts to sustain reform and growth. He reiterated the U.S. Administration pledge of $3 billion over five years to help in important areas such as security and the social sector. President Musharraf expressed appreciation for US support to Pakistan's social sector, economic development and poverty reduction programs.

They reiterated their commitment to further expand bilateral trade and investment.

President Musharraf reiterated his commitment to democracy and his intent to strengthen the country's democratic institutions and bring sustainable democracy to Pakistan.

Taking note of the rich agenda for cooperation, President Bush once again emphasized the long-term U.S. commitment to Pakistan and to the region. President Musharraf expressed appreciation for the close collaboration between the two countries. Both Presidents agreed to further expand and deepen bilateral relations to the mutual benefit of the two countries.

NOTE: An original was not available for verification of the content of this joint statement.

Remarks on the Opening of the National Museum of the American Indian

September 23, 2004

Thank you all for coming. Thank you all. Please be seated. Welcome to the White House. Laura and I are so honored that you're here, and we're honored to be with you.

This week, during one of the largest gatherings of American Indians in our Nation's history, we celebrate the legacy of the first people to call this land home. And we celebrate the opening of the National Museum of the American Indian, a unique and beautiful place that will introduce generations of visitors to a strong and living tradition. That museum is a long time in coming, but it now stands in a place of honor, exactly where it belongs, on the National Mall in Washington, DC.

I'm honored to call Ben Nighthorse Campbell a friend. He is a strong, strong leader. He is a proud Indian and a proud American. He represents the best of public service. And I appreciate his wife, Linda, being here as well. Thank you, friend. Plus, he's a pretty fine athlete. [*Laughter*]

I appreciate Secretary Gale Norton, Secretary of the Interior, for being here, and other members of my administration involved with Indian affairs who are here. And they should be here. After all, they're with the leaders of sovereign tribes: Dave Anderson, Assistant Secretary of Indian Affairs, Department of Interior; Vickie Vasquez, Assistant Deputy Secretary of the Office of Indian Education; Dr. Charles Grim, Director, Indian Health Service, Department of Health and Human Services. Thank you all for coming.

I'm proud to be here with Senator Ted Stevens—Senator Stevens, Chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, strong backer of the American Indian, as is Senator Domenici and all the other Senators who are here. I appreciate you all coming.

I'm honored the Members of the House are here: Richard Pombo, chairman of the House Resources Committee; J.D. Hayworth, cochairman of the Native American Caucus; along with Dale Kildee of Michigan, cochairman of the Native American Caucus; Congressman Tom Cole from Oklahoma; and other Members of the Congress. Proud you're here, and thank you for coming.

I'm honored to have distinguished tribal leaders here today. Thank you all for coming to Washington, DC. We're proud you're here. I appreciate Sheila Burke, the Deputy Secretary of the Smithsonian Institute. I thank Rick West, the Director of the National Museum of the American Indian, for being here as well.

I want to thank the Indian members of our United States military for joining us today. Thank you for your service. Finally, I want to thank the Cherokee Choir for filling the East Room with such beautiful music. Thank you all, and welcome to the White House.

The museum's location on the Mall is fitting, because the American Indian experience is central to the American story. That story has involved great injustice against native peoples and great contribution by native peoples.

We remember Sacagawea's presence with Lewis and Clark. What a heroic woman she was. We remember the patriotism and bravery of the Code Talkers in World War II. We're still looking for Clarence Wolf Guts. [*Laughter*] We also remember all the Native Americans who fought to defend America, including the 17 American service personnel we just recognized here.

Native Americans have supported this country during its times of need, and their contributions have made America stronger and better. Decades ago, there were some who viewed American Indians as the vanishing Americans, people on the margins of our national life. Yet, the exhibits in the new museum and the museum itself carry a different message. Many of its staff and curators are Native Americans, and the exhibits are created in close consultation with the tribes.

The National Museum of the American Indian shows how your ancestors once lived, and it does much more than that. It affirms that you and your tribal governments are strong and vital today and provides a place to celebrate your present achievements and your deepest hopes for the future. It allows all Americans to experience the rich culture of the American Indian.

Native American cultures survive and flourish when tribes retain control over their own affairs and their own future. That is why, earlier this morning, I signed an Executive memorandum to all Federal agencies reaffirming the Federal Government's longstanding commitment to respect tribal sovereignty and self-determination. My Government will continue to honor this government-to-government relationship.

Long before others came to the land called America, the story of this land was yours alone. Indians on this continent had their own languages and customs, just as you have today. They had jurisdiction over their lands and territories, just as you have today. And these sovereign tribal nations had their own systems of self-governance, just as you have today.

The National Museum of Indian Affairs affirms that this young country is home to an ancient, noble, and enduring native culture. And all Americans are proud of that culture. Like many Indian dwellings, the new museum building faces east, toward the rising sun. And as we celebrate this new museum and we look to the future, we can say that the sun is rising on Indian country.

Welcome to the White House. May God bless you. Thanks for coming.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:35 a.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell of Colorado and his wife, Linda; and Clarence Wolf Guts, World War II veteran and Lakota Sioux code talker.

Memorandum on Government-to-Government Relationship With Tribal Governments

September 23, 2004

Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies

Subject: Government-to-Government Relationship with Tribal Governments

The United States has a unique legal and political relationship with Indian tribes and a special relationship with Alaska Native entities as provided in the Constitution of the United States, treaties, and Federal statutes. Presidents for decades have recognized this relationship. President Nixon announced a national policy of self-determination for Indian tribes in 1970. More recently, Executive Order 13175, entitled Consultation and Coordination with Indian Tribal Governments, was issued in 2000. I reiterated my Administration's adherence to a government-to-government relationship and support for tribal sovereignty and self-determination earlier this year in Executive Order 13336, entitled American Indian and Alaska Native Education.

My Administration is committed to continuing to work with federally recognized

tribal governments on a government-to-government basis and strongly supports and respects tribal sovereignty and self-determination for tribal governments in the United States. I take pride in acknowledging and reaffirming the existence and durability of our unique government-to-government relationship and these abiding principles.

This commitment begins at the White House, where my Director of Intergovernmental Affairs serves as my White House liaison with all Indian nations and works with federally recognized tribal governments on an intergovernmental basis. Moreover, it is critical that all departments and agencies adhere to these principles and work with tribal governments in a manner that cultivates mutual respect and fosters greater understanding to reinforce these principles.

Accordingly, the head of each executive department and agency (agency) shall continue to ensure to the greatest extent practicable and as permitted by United States law that the agency's working relationship with federally recognized tribal governments fully respects the rights of self-government and self-determination due tribal governments. Department or agency inquiries regarding this memorandum, specifically those related to regulatory, legislative, or budgetary issues, should be directed to the Office of Management and Budget.

This memorandum is intended only to improve the internal management of the executive branch and is not intended to, and does not, create any right, benefit, or trust responsibility, substantive or procedural, enforceable at law or in equity, by a party against the United States, its agencies, entities, or instrumentalities, its officers or employees, or any other person.

George W. Bush

The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Ayad Allawi of Iraq

September 23, 2004

President Bush. Thank you all for coming. I'm honored to stand with the Prime Minister of a free and sovereign Iraq. Welcome, Mr. Prime Minister. I applaud your leadership and your courage. It's my honor to welcome a friend to the White House.

Prime Minister Allawi. Thank you.

President Bush. Mr. Prime Minister, you've accomplished a great deal in less—in the 3 months since the transition to a free Iraq that is governed by Iraqis. These have been months of steady progress, despite persistent violence in some parts of your country. Iraqis and their leaders are engaged in a great and historic enterprise to establish a new democracy at the heart of a vital region.

As friends of liberty, the new leaders of Iraq are friends of America and all civilized nations. As enemies of tyranny and terror, the people of Iraq and the American troops and civilians supporting their dreams of freedom have been the target of acts of violence. The enemies of freedom are using suicide bombing, beheadings, and other horrific acts to try to block progress. We're sickened by the atrocities, but we'll never be intimidated. And freedom is winning.

Mr. Prime Minister, America will stand with you until freedom and justice have prevailed. America's security and Iraq's future depend on it.

The Iraqi people are showing great courage and great determination. As terrorists have attacked Iraqi security forces, still more brave Iraqis have come forward to volunteer to serve their country. As killers have attempted to assassinate Government officials, Iraq's leaders have refused to be intimidated, and the vast majority of Iraqis remain committed to democracy.

The path to our safety and to Iraq's future as a democratic nation lies in the resolute defense of freedom. If we stop fighting the terrorists in Iraq, they would be free to plot and plan attacks elsewhere, in America and other free nations. To retreat now would betray our mission, our word, and our friends. Mr. Prime Minister, America will keep its commitments.

The path ahead is difficult because a free Iraq has deadly enemies. Remnants of the old regime and terrorist groups want to prevent Iraq's elections and demoralize Iraq's allies. Because of that, Prime Minister Allawi and I believe terrorist violence may well escalate as the January elections draw near. The

terrorists know that events in Iraq are reaching a decisive moment. If elections go forward, democracy in Iraq will put down permanent roots, and terrorists will suffer a dramatic defeat. And because Iraq and America and our coalition are standing firm, the Iraqi people and not the terrorists will determine Iraq's future.

There's much at stake. Mr. Prime Minister, you recently said, "The war in Iraq now is not only an Iraqi war. It is a war for the civilized world to fight terrorists and terrorism, and there is no route but the route of winning." Prime Minister Tony Blair recently called the struggle in Iraq the crucible in which the future of global terrorism will be determined. I share the view of these strong leaders that Iraq is a central front in the war on terror, and our only option is victory.

We're making steady progress in implementing our five-step plan toward the goal we all want, completing the mission so that Iraq is stable and self-governing and American troops can come home with the honor they have earned.

The first step was achieved on June 28th, not only on time but ahead of schedule, when the coalition transferred full sovereignty to a Government of Iraqi citizens.

The second step is to help Iraq's new Government establish stability and security. Iraq must be able to defend itself, and Iraqi security forces are taking increasing responsibility for their country's security. Nearly 100,000 fully trained and equipped Iraqi soldiers, police officers, and other security personnel are working today, and that total will rise to 125,000 by the end of this year. The Iraqi Government is on track to build a force of over 200,000 security personnel by the end of next year.

With the help of the American military, the training of the Iraqi army is almost halfway complete. And in Najaf and other important areas, Iraqi military forces have performed with skill and success. In Najaf, Iraqi and coalition forces effectively surrounded, isolated, and engaged enemy militias. Prime Minister Allawi and his Government reached out to the local population to persuade citizens the path to a better future would be found in political participation and economic progress. The Interim Government then negotiated from a position of strength to end the standoff.

Serious problems remain in several cities. Prime Minister Allawi believes this combination of decisive action and outreach to peaceful citizens is the most effective way to defeat terrorists and insurgents and secure the peace of Iraq. And America stands with him.

The third step in our plan is to continue improving Iraq's infrastructure. On television sets around the world, we see acts of violence; yet in most of Iraq, children are about to go back to school, parents are going back to work, and new businesses are being opened. Over 100 companies are now listed on the Iraqi stock exchange, and an average of 5 new companies are joining each week. Electricity has been restored above prewar levels. Telephone service has increased dramatically. More than 2,000 schools have been renovated, and millions of new textbooks have been distributed.

There is much more work to be done. We've already spent more than a billion dollars on urgent reconstruction projects in areas threatened by the insurgency. In the next several months, over $9 billion will be spent on contracts that will help Iraqis rebuild schools, refurbish hospitals and health clinics, repair bridges, upgrade the electricity grid, and modernize the communications system. Prime Minister Allawi and I both agree that the pace of reconstruction should be accelerated. We're working toward that goal.

The fourth step in our plan is to enlist additional international support for Iraq's transition to democracy. The multinational force of some 30 nations continues to help secure a free Iraq. We honor the service men and women of Great Britain, Bulgaria, Denmark, El Salvador, Estonia, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, the Netherlands, Poland, Slovakia, Spain, Thailand, and Ukraine who've died, besides Iraqis and Americans, for the cause of freedom and security of the world.

Our coalition is grateful that the United Nations has reestablished its mission in Baghdad. We're grateful to the G–8 countries and the European Union for pledging support to the new Iraqi Government. We're grateful to the NATO Alliance for helping to train Iraqi forces. We're grateful to many

of Iraq's creditors, which have agreed to a further reduction of Iraq's debt. Because all nations have an interest in the success of a free Iraq, I urge all nations to join in this vital cause.

The fifth and most important step in our plan is to help Iraq conduct free national elections no later than next January. An Iraqi electoral commission is now up and running and has already hired personnel and is making key decisions about election procedures. Just this week, the commission began a public education campaign to inform Iraqis about the process and encourage them to become voters. United Nations electoral advisers are on the ground in Iraq, though more are needed. Prime Minister Allawi and I have urged the U.N. to send sufficient personnel to help ensure the success of Iraqi elections.

At every stage in this process of establishing self-government, the Iraqi people and their leaders have met the schedules they set, and have overcome their challenges with confidence. And under this good man's leadership, they will continue to do so.

The war for Iraq's freedom is a fight against some of the most ruthless and brutal men on Earth. In such a struggle, there will be good days and there will be difficult days, but every day our resolve must remain firm.

Prime Minister, today I want to leave you and the nation you serve with a clear message: You have not faltered in a time of challenge, and neither will America. Thank you for your leadership. You honor us with your visit.

Prime Minister Allawi. Thank you.

Mr. President, thank you for those kind words. It is an honor to be here today in your Nation's Capital. It is a great honor to share this platform with you, a leader who worked tirelessly for the liberation of my country.

These last few days have been difficult for us Iraqis, for you Americans, and for all our allies. Let me start by saying that my thoughts and prayers are with the families of those fighting today in Iraq and, in particularly, with the families of those who have lost loved ones at the hands of the terrorists or the insurgents.

Like this nation, which is—which in the face of such brutality is standing strong against terrorism, so we Iraqis will not be cowed by the terrorists. Your Government and my Government understand what is at stake today in Iraq. Today, we face a concentrated campaign by terrorists and by the enemies of all the values which we hold dear, a campaign to shake our resolve and to prevent Iraq and Iraqis from attaining the freedom and democracy which we have dreamed of for more than the last 30 years. These terrorists understand all too well that success in Iraq will be an enormous blow for terrorism worldwide and an enormous step forward for peace and stability in the Middle East and in the wider world.

I thank you, Mr. President, for your determination to stand firm with us in Iraq and for the unflinching message which you are delivering to our enemies.

Mr. President, I stand here today as a Prime Minister of a country emerging finally from dark ages of tyranny, aggression, and corruption. Like you, I knew how evil Saddam Hussein and his regime truly were. Like you, I knew the damage he had brought on his country. Like you, I knew of the wars he had started and the dangers he posed to my region and the world, or at least I thought I knew. For I, like millions of other Iraqis, were forced into exile, realizing that we could only fight Saddam from outside Iraq. Even then we were not safe, as I myself can testify.

But when I returned to Iraq, following the liberation of my country, I was truly shocked by just how much damage Saddam had done to—in his 30 years of rule. Iraq is a deeply scarred society in a very troubled region. Today, we are witnessing all too vividly the true extent of the damage which Saddam inflicted on our society.

Mr. President, Iraqis thank God, thank America, and thank our allies that Saddam is gone. We are safer; the region is safer; the world is safer without him. But the scars will take time to—determination to—time and determination to heal.

Again, Mr. President, I thank you for your leadership. We had an excellent meeting today, building on the talks we had on Tuesday in New York. We discussed the challenges ahead of us and how to confront them. We discussed the plan to take Iraq through

these difficulties and to ensure that democratic elections take place on time next year. And we discussed the importance of maintaining the strength of the coalition and the support of the international community in helping us to succeed. As we discussed, the plan focuses on building democracy, defeating the insurgency, and improving the quality of life for the ordinary Iraqis.

Our political plan is to isolate the terrorists from the communities in which they operate. We are working hard to involve as many people as we can in the political process, to cut the ground from under the terrorists' feet. Of course, we know that terrorism cannot be defeated with political tools alone, but we can weaken it. Ending local support helps us to tackle the enemy head on, to identify, isolate, and eradicate this cancer.

Our military plan will enable us to build and maintain security across Iraq. Ordinary Iraqis are anxious to take over entirely this role and to shoulder all the security burdens of our country as quickly as possible. We do not want the multinational force to stay in Iraq any more than you want to remain there. But for now, we need you. We need the help of our American and multinational partners while we continue to accelerate the training of Iraqi security forces.

The Iraqi Government now commands almost 100,000 trained and combat-ready Iraqis, including police, national guard, and army. The Government have accelerated the development of Iraqi special forces and established a counterterrorist strike force to address the specific problems caused by the insurgency. Our intelligence is getting better every day. You have seen that in the successful resolution of the Najaf crisis and in the targeted attacks against insurgents in Fallujah.

Finally, our economic plan is to improve the everyday lives of Iraqis as we deliver both political and security progress. Here, thanks to a large extent to the generous security and reconstruction funding approved by the United States Congress, work is underway. Oil pipelines are being repaired, basic services improved, streets and homes rebuilt, schools, hospitals, and clinics reopened. Thousands of Iraqis have new jobs. Salaries have been increased dramatically, in many cases five or four times over. Iraq's economy, freed from the stranglehold of a failed Ba'athist ideology, has finally started to flourish.

Mr. President, we also discussed the importance of holding free and fair national and local elections this coming January as planned. I know that some have speculated, even doubted whether this date can be met, so let me be absolutely clear that elections will occur in Iraq on time in January, because Iraqis want election on time. In 15 out of 18 Iraqi provinces, the security situation is good for elections to be held tomorrow. Here, Iraqis are getting on with their daily lives, hungry for the new political and economic freedoms they are enjoying. Although this is not what you see in your media, it is a fact.

The Iraqi elections may not be perfect. They may not be the best elections that Iraq will ever hold. They will no-doubtedly be an excuse for violence from those who despair and despise liberty, as we—as were the first elections in Sierra Leone, South Africa, and Indonesia. But they will take place, and they will be free and fair.

Finally, Mr. President, a word about international resolve. Iraq cannot accomplish this alone. The international forces of tyranny and oppression are lined up against us. Iraq is now the main battleground between the forces of hope and the forces of fear. This is a struggle which will shape the future of our world.

Already, Iraq has many partners. More than two dozen countries are represented in Iraq with troops on the ground. We Iraqis are grateful for each and every one of these courageous men and women. The United Nations, the European Union, the G–8 have lent their strong support. NATO, just yesterday, increased its commitment to Iraq. Many more nations have committed to Iraq future in the form of economic aid. I am grateful for the support. I look to my Arab brothers to join us fully.

I know it is difficult, but the coalition must stand firm. When governments negotiate with terrorists, everyone in the free world suffers. When political leaders sound the sirens of defeatism in the face of terrorism, it only encourages more violence. Working

together, we will defeat the killers, and we'll do this by refusing to bargain about our most fundamental principles.

I understand why, faced with the daily headlines, there are those doubts. I know too that there are—there will be many more setbacks and obstacles to overcome. But these doubters underestimate our country, and they risk fueling the hopes of terrorism.

Mr. President, there are those who want to divide our world. I appeal to you, who have done so much already to help us, to ensure they don't succeed.

Thank you.

President Bush. We'll take a couple of questions now. Terry [Terence Hunt, Associated Press].

Support for the U.S. Military/Terrorists in Iraq

Q. Mr. President, two more Americans have been beheaded. More than 300 Iraqis have been killed in the last week. Fallujah is out of Government control. And U.S. and Iraqi forces have been unable to bring security to diplomatic and commercial centers of Baghdad. Why haven't U.S. forces been able to capture or kill Al Zarqawi, who's blamed for much of the violence? And what's your answer to General John Abizaid's statement that, "I think we will need more troops than we currently have"?

President Bush. If that's what he says—he was in my office this morning. He didn't say that to me, but if he were to say that, I'd listen to him, just like I've said all along, that when our commanders say that they need support, they'll get support, because we're going to succeed in this mission.

The first part of the question was, how come we haven't found Zarqawi? We're looking for him. He hides. He is—he's got a effective weapon, and that is terror. I said yesterday that our military cannot be defeated by these thugs, that—but what they do is behead Americans so they can get on the TV screens. And they're trying to shake our will and trying to shake the Iraqis' will. That's what they're trying to do.

And like all Americans, I'm disgusted by that kind of behavior, but I'm not going to yield. We're not going to abandon the Iraqi people. It's in our interests that we win this battle in the war on terror. See, I think that the Iraq theater is a part of the war on terror. That's what the Prime Minister said as well. He believes the same thing. He understands what's going on there. After all, he lives there.

And I believe that if we wilt or leave, America's security will be much worse off. I believe that if Iraq—if we fail in Iraq, it's the beginning of a long struggle. We will not have done our duty to our children and our grandchildren. And so that's why I'm consistently telling the Iraqi citizens that we will not be intimidated. That's why my message to Mr. Zarqawi is: You cannot drive us out of Iraq by your brutality.

It's tough work. Everybody knows that. It's hard work. But we must not allow the actions of a few—and I emphasize that, I say that because there are 25 million Iraqis, by far the vast majority of whom want to live in a free society—and we cannot allow the actions of a few to determine the fate of these good people as well as the fate of the security of the United States.

Prime Minister Allawi. May I, Mr. President?

President Bush. Sure.

Prime Minister Allawi. I just have a few words to say to this question.

We cannot really substitute Iraq for Fallujah. Fallujah is a small part of Iraq. There are insurgents and terrorists who are active there for geographical reasons. The people of Fallujah are adamant that they should—whenever they are capable—to get rid of the insurgents. We have been talking to them. I have been talking to them, engaged in dialog. My deputy met with the Fallujah tribes 2 days ago. Things are moving in the right direction, and we are hitting insurgents and terrorists in this part of the world.

To have more troops, we don't need. What we need really is to train more Iraqis, because this is ultimately for Iraqis, for Iraqi security forces to take responsibility for their own security and to defend the rest of the civilized world. What is happening, sir, in Iraq is, really, Iraq is becoming a frontline for a global fight against terrorists. So that's why Zarqawi is not alone. There are other groups similar to Zarqawi. There are groups

who are insurgents who have stained their hands with the murders of the Iraqi people, who are Saddam's loyalists. They are working together. We assure you that we are going to defeat these evil forces, in Iraq and throughout the world.

President Bush. Steve [Steve Holland, Reuters].

Staying the Course in Iraq

Q. Mr. President, John Kerry is accusing you of colossal failures of judgment in Iraq and having failed to level with the American people about how tough it is there. How do you respond to him?

President Bush. It's hard work in Iraq. Everybody knows that. We see it on our TV. My message is that we will stay the course and stand with these people so that they become free. It's in our national interest we do so. I believe this is a central part in the war on terror. I believe that when we succeed in Iraq, that America will be more secure. I also know that a free Iraq will send a clear message to the part of the world that is desperate for freedom.

It's hard work. The American people know that. But I believe it's necessary work, and I believe a leader must be consistent and clear and not change positions when times get tough. And the times have been hard. These are hard times. But I understand that—what mixed messages do. You can embolden an enemy by sending a mixed message. You can dispirit the Iraqi people by sending mixed messages. You send the wrong message to our troops by sending mixed messages. That's why I will continue to lead with clarity and in a resolute way, because I understand the stakes. These are high stakes, and we'll succeed.

Is anybody here from the Iraqi media? Why don't we—yes, please, sir. Standing next to a fine man in Deans [Bob Deans, Cox Newspapers].

Reconstruction of Iraq

[*At this point, a question was asked in Arabic.*]

President Bush. I'm not so sure I agree with that. [*Laughter*]

[*The interpreter then translated the question as follows.*]

Q. The question to the U.S. President: What are the plans to accelerate the arrival of the fund donated by various countries around the world, the countries that are contributing to the rebuilding of Iraq, in order to encourage investments in Iraq, particularly with a very high unemployment rate?

President Bush. Right. There are at least three aspects to the reconstruction projects. One is our own money. And as I mentioned in my remarks, there's $7 billion committed. We've got more money to spend, and we will spend it when contracts are let and when there's enough security in certain neighborhoods to be able to spend the money wisely.

Secondly, part of making sure that the Iraq balance sheet is in good shape is to continue to work on debt reductions. I named former Secretary Jim Baker to go around to the creditor nations. He received some commitments. And I believe that the world will make its decision later on this year as to how much debt reduction there will be in Iraq.

And thirdly, as you mentioned, other nations have pledged help to the Iraqi people. And there will be a donors conference in Japan, kind of an accountability conference for people to come and explain where they are in meeting their different promises.

Yes, NBC man, there—your name?

Q. Gregory [David Gregory, NBC News], sir.

President Bush. Gregory.

Saddam Hussein

Q. Mr. President, you say today that the work in Iraq is tough and will remain tough. And yet, you travel this country, and a central theme of your campaign is that America is safer because of the invasion of Iraq. Can you understand why Americans may not believe you?

President Bush. No. Anybody who says that we are safer with Saddam Hussein in power is wrong. We went into Iraq because Saddam Hussein defied the demands of the free world. We went into Iraq after diplomacy had failed. And we went into Iraq because I understand after September the 11th we must take threats seriously, before they come to hurt us.

And I think it's a preposterous claim to say that America would be better off with Saddam Hussein in power. I certainly know that that's the case for America, and I certainly know it's the case for the Iraqi people. These are the people who were tortured. This good man was abed in a London flat, and he wakes up with two Saddam henchmen there with axes, trying to cut him to pieces with an ax. And fortunately, he's alive today. Fortunately, we call him friend and ally. But he knows what it means to have lived under a society in which a thug like Saddam Hussein would send people with axes to try to kill him in bed in a London flat. No, this world is better off with Saddam Hussein in prison.

Q. Sir, may I just follow, because I don't think you're really answering the question. I mean, I think you're responding to Senator Kerry, but there are beheadings regularly, the insurgent violence continues, and there are no weapons of mass destruction. My question is, can you understand that Americans may not believe you when you say that America is actually safer today?

President Bush. Imagine a world in which Saddam Hussein were still in power. This is a man who harbored terrorists, Abu Abbas, Abu Nidal, Zarqawi. This is a man who was a sworn enemy of the United States of America. This is a man who used weapons of mass destruction. Going from tyranny to democracy is hard work, but I think the argument that says that Saddam Hussein—if Saddam Hussein were still in power, we'd be better off is wrong.

King [John King, CNN].

Decisionmaking on Troop Levels/ National Intelligence Estimate

Q. Sir, I'd like you to answer Senator Kerry and other critics who accuse you of hypocrisy or opportunism when on the one hand you put so much stock in the CIA when it said Saddam Hussein had weapons of mass destruction and now say it is just guessing when it paints a pessimistic picture of the political transition.

President Bush. Yes.

Q. And I like to, if you don't mind, follow on something the Prime Minister just said. If General Abizaid says he needs more troops and the Prime Minister says he does not want more troops, who wins?

President Bush. Let me talk to General Abizaid. As I said, he just came in to see me, and I want to make sure—I'm not suggesting any of the reporters here might be taking something out of context. That would never happen in America. But nevertheless, I do want to sit down and talk to him about it. Obviously, we can work this out. It's in the—if our commanders on the ground feel it's in the interest of the Iraq citizens to provide more troops, we'll talk about it. That's—that's why—they're friends—that's what we do about friends.

First part of the question—oh, yes, yes——

Q. They say you've been opportunistic——

President Bush. Yes, got it. Listen, the other day I was asked about the NIE, which is a National Intelligence Estimate. This is a report that talks about possibilities about what can happen in Iraq, not probabilities. I used an unfortunate word, "guess." I should have used "estimate." And the CIA came and said, "This is a possibility, this is a possibility, and this is a possibility." But what's important for the American people to hear is reality. And the reality is right here in the form of the Prime Minister, and he is explaining what is happening on the ground. That's the best report. And this report was written in July, and now we are here in September. And as I said, "estimate" would have been a better word.

Q. Mr. President——

President Bush. Hold on for a minute. Hold on for a minute, please, please. We've got other people from—hold on for a second.

Prime Minister Allawi. From the other——

President Bush. From Iraq. Are you from Iraq?

Q. No.

President Bush. Okay. No, hold on for a second. We need people from Iraq first, please. One journalist from Iraq. You're not from Iraq, Allen [Mike Allen, Washington Post], and neither are you, Elisabeth [Elisabeth Bumiller, New York Times].

Prime Minister Allawi. Give Al Arabiya——

President Bush. Is anybody here from CBS? Roberts [John Roberts, CBS News], there you are. Please.

Q. ——happy to be here.

President Bush. Happy to be here, thank you. [*Laughter*]

Q. Sir, you——

President Bush. Terry [Terry Moran, ABC News], you're next.

Iraqi Elections/Security Situation in Iraq

Q. You have been accused on the campaign trail in this election year of painting an overly optimistic portrait of the situation on the ground in Iraq. Yesterday, in Valley Forge, you said that there was a "handful" of people who were willing to kill to try to disrupt the process. Isn't that really understating the case, particularly when there are intelligence reports that hundreds if not thousands of foreign fighters are streaming across the border from Syria to take up the fight of the insurgency? And do you believe, given the situation on the ground in Fallujah and other northern cities in the Sunni Triangle, that elections are possible in 4 months?

President Bush. I do, because the Prime Minister told me they are. He is—he's interested in moving this country forward. And you heard his statement, and I believe him.

The first part of the question?

Q. The first question was, aren't you being——

President Bush. Yes, got it, got it. Yes. Yesterday——

Q. ——disingenuous——

President Bush. Right. I said—look, what we're seeing on our TV screens are the acts of suicide bombers. They're the people that are affecting the daily—the nightly news. And they know its effect. I said that the enemy cannot defeat us militarily. What they can do is take acts of violence that try to discourage us and try to discourage the Prime Minister and the people of Iraq.

Look, I'm fully aware we're fighting former Ba'athists and Zarqawi network people. But by far, the vast majority of people, John, and—of 25 million people—want to live in freedom. My point is, is that a few people, relative to the whole, are trying to stop the march of freedom.

It is tough work. Everybody in America knows that, and the fundamental question is, are we going to allow the tough work to cause us to retreat, to waver? And my answer to the American people and the Iraqi people and to the enemy is that we will complete our mission. We will do our duty. We will adjust strategies on the ground, depending upon the tactics of the enemy, but we're not going to allow the suiciders to drive us out of Iraq.

Terry.

Prime Minister Allawi. May I——

President Bush. Yes, please.

Prime Minister Allawi. Let me explain something which is very important. I have noticed—and the media have been neglected and omitted several times—in the Western media—Iraq is made out of 18 provinces, 18, 1-8. Out of these 18 provinces, 14 to 15 are completely safe; there are no problems. And I can count them for you, starting from Basra moving into Iraq Kurdistan. There are three areas, three provinces where there are pockets of insurgents, pockets of terrorists who are acting there and are moving from there to inflict damage elsewhere in the country.

So really, if you care to look at Iraq properly and go from Basra to Nasiriyah to Kut to Diyala to Najaf to Karbala to Diwaniya to Samarra to Kirkuk to Sulaymaniyah to Dahuk to Arbil, there are no problems. It's safe. It's good. There are problems in Fallujah. Fallujah is part of a province; the province is called Al Anbar. It's vast, very big. It has many other important towns such as Ana, such as Rawa, such as Ramadi. There is nothing there. In Ana and Rawa, indeed, there is nothing, no problem, except on a small pocket in Fallujah.

So really, I call upon the responsible media throughout the world, not only here, to look at the facts as they are in Iraq and to propagate these facts to the international community.

I am not trying to undermine that there are dangers. There are dangers in Iraq. There are problems, and we are facing international terrorist onslaught on Iraq. I, personally, receive every day a threat. In the last 4 weeks, they found four conspiracies to kill me. And likewise, they are killing people—they are

killing officials; they are killing innocent people. But the Iraqis are not deterred, and we are not going to be deterred. I went the next day and saw our recruitment center for the police, after they killed, massacred 40, 45 people. I found hundreds of people coming to be volunteer—to volunteer to the police and to the army. I spoke to them. They are all upbeat. They are resolved to beat terrorism and to defeat the insurgents.

These are facts that one really needs to explain to you, and you need to explain it to the people.

President Bush. Terry.

Iraqi Support for Coalition Efforts

Q. Mr. President and Mr. Prime Minister, I'd like to ask about the Iraqi people. Both of you have spoken for them today, and yet, over the past several months, there have been polls conducted by the Coalition Provisional Authority, by the Oxford Institute, and other reputable organizations that have found very strong majorities do not see the United States as a liberator but as an occupier, are unhappy with American policy, and want us out. Don't the real voices of the Iraqi people, themselves, contradict the rosy scenarios you're painting here today?

President Bush. Let me start by that. You said the poll was taken when the CPA was there?

Q. One poll——

President Bush. Yes, okay, let me stop you. First of all, the Iraqi people now have got Iraqi leadership. Prime Minister Allawi and his cabinet are making decisions on behalf of the Iraqi people. Secondly, I saw a poll that said the right track/wrong track in Iraq was better than here in America. [*Laughter*] It's pretty darn strong. I mean, the people see a better future.

Talk to the leader. I agree; I'm not the expert on how the Iraqi people think, because I live in America, where it's nice and safe and secure. But I talk to this man. One reason I'm optimistic about our ability to get the job done is because I talk to the Iraqi Prime Minister. I'm also optimistic that people will choose freedom over tyranny every time. That's what I believe.

But Mr. Prime Minister, you might answer the question on the polls. There's a lot of polls. Sometimes they show you up and sometimes they show you down, as you might remember.

Prime Minister Allawi. Let me take a minute to explain to you something, a factual event. I meet, personally, every now and then with the fringes of the so-called resistance to try and talk them into respecting law and order and withdraw their arms. And I ask them in a very honest, very open way, I say to them, "What do you want to achieve? Could you know exactly what you want to achieve? Do you want to bring Saddam back from the hole in the ground, living like a rat? Do you want to bring him back to rule Iraq? Or do you want to bring bin Laden or similar persons to bin Laden to rule Iraq? If you want to do this, we will fight you room to room, house to house. If you want to be part of the political process, you have to be part of the political process, you are welcome."

"If you do not want the multinational force in Iraq"—I was talking to Fallujah people recently, to tribes, ex-army officers, ex-Saddam loyalists—"if you want the multinational force out, win the elections. Go to the United Nations, talk to the Security Council, and tell them we don't need the multinational forces. But I tell you what is going to happen. If you ask the multinational force to leave prematurely"—this is me talking to the Fallujah people—"your country will be in ruins, and we cannot now, on our feet, stand and fight terrorism and global terrorism."

These are realities. And once you are in Iraq, I will be your* host. I can put you together with these people in my home, and you can talk to them. And you can find out yourselves that the Iraqis tremendously, by and large, respect the United States and respect the other partners in the coalition for helping Iraq, not only in liberation but now in helping Iraq to rebuild itself and to rebuild its institutions.

President Bush. Let me say one other thing about why I'm optimistic we'll succeed. By the way, you can understand it's tough and still be optimistic. You can understand how hard it is and believe we'll succeed.

I remember when some were talking about the possibility of success in Afghanistan in

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* White House correction.

pretty stark terms. I don't know if you remember that period or not, but there was a period where some were saying that it wasn't possible for democracy to come forward in Afghanistan. Today, 10 million citizens have registered to vote, 41 percent of whom are women. It's a phenomenal statistic, I think. I think it shows what's possible if you believe—if you have certain beliefs from which you won't waver. And I believe people yearn to be free.

Again, I think if you look at polls—which sometimes I do, and sometimes I don't, admittedly, Moran—that by far the vast majority of Iraqis want to vote. They want to live in freedom. And the fundamental question is, do we—is this: Do we have the will to stay? Do we have the will to put smart strategy in place? I've laid out the strategy. We're implementing the strategy. But really, do we have the will to complete the mission? And my message to the Iraqi people and to the enemy and to our troops in harm's way and to our allies is: We'll complete the mission.

Listen, last question—Wendell [Wendell Goler, Fox News Channel]. And then we—I think it's probably time to head into the air-conditioning——

Q. Mr. President——

President Bush. Excuse me, ma'am. Wendell.

Impact of Mixed Signals on Coalition Efforts

Q. Thank you, sir. Mr. President, in the past couple of days you have been talking about the consequences of the mixed messages you say John Kerry sends. I want to ask you, sir, do you mean immediate consequences, not just if the Senator is elected? Do you mean that the messages being sent now have a negative effect on the effort in Iraq? And does making the war in Iraq a part of a campaign also have consequences on the situation there, sir?

President Bush. Well, I think—look, in a campaign, it's—the war of Iraq is going to be part of a campaign. It's—this is a major moment in American history. These are historic times, and I view it as a great opportunity to help secure our country. As I said before, Iraq is a central part of the war on terror, and I believe it's important for us to succeed there because of that.

See, 9/11 changed everything. September the 11th meant that we had to deal with a person like Saddam Hussein. Of course, I was hoping it could be done diplomatically. But diplomacy failed, and so the last resort of a President is to use force. And we did, and now we're helping the Iraqis.

The Prime Minister said something very interesting a while ago, and it's important for the American people to understand. Our strategy is to help the Iraqis help themselves. It's important that we train Iraqi troops. There are nearly 100,000 troops trained. The Iraqi * national army is a part of the army. By the way, it was the Iraqi * national army that went into Najaf and did the work there. There's a regular army being trained. There are border guards being trained. There are police being trained. That's a key part of our mission.

But Wendell, I think the world watches America. We're an influential nation, and everybody watches what we say. And I think it's very important for the American President to mean what he says. That's why I understand that the enemy could misread what I say. That's why I try to be as clearly as I can. I don't want them to be emboldened by any confusion or doubt. I don't want them to think that, well, maybe all they've got to do is attack, and we'll shirk our duties. See, they've been emboldened before. They have caused certain nations to withdraw from coalitions as a result of their action, such action reinforcing the ability for suiciders, for example, to affect free societies. I know that. I've seen firsthand the tactics of these killers. And so therefore, I think it's very important for all of us involved in the process not to send mixed signals. I don't know what the enemy thinks today. But I do know they're watching America very carefully. I do know they want to affect other nations by their acts of murder. I do know they were emboldened when Spain withdrew from Iraq as a result of attacks and election.

And therefore, I have a duty to our troops, for starters—most importantly—not to send

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* White House correction.

a mixed signal. I want our troops to know that the sacrifices they are making are worthwhile and necessary for the security of this country.

And I want—don't want the Iraqis to fear that, oh, all of a sudden there will be a change of heart, that there'll be tough times politically or that a poll might say something and, therefore, cause me to change my opinion. I don't want them to think that, because they have to make the hard choices for freedom. They have to go from a society that has been tortured by a brutal thug to a society in which they take responsibility for their daily lives.

I don't want the coalition forces to feel like we're wavering. And so I understand that people watch our words, and that's an explanation of why I say what I say.

Listen, thank you all very much.

Mr. Prime Minister, appreciate you. Good job.

Prime Minister Allawi. Okay. Thank you.

President Bush. Proud you're here.

NOTE: The President's news conference began at 12:06 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom; Eugene Armstrong and Jack Hensley, American citizens who were killed in Iraq on September 20 and 21, respectively, by militants led by senior Al Qaida associate Abu Musab Al Zarqawi; Gen. John B. Abizaid, USA, combatant commander, U.S. Central Command; James A. Baker III, former Presidential envoy on the issue of Iraqi debt; former President Saddam Hussein of Iraq; and Usama bin Laden, leader of the Al Qaida terrorist organization.

Remarks in Bangor, Maine

September 23, 2004

The President. Thanks for coming. I'm honored to be back in this beautiful State. I wasn't sure I'd be invited back after the last time I came; I didn't make my bed. [*Laughter*] What a beautiful day in such a glorious part of the world. I'm so honored you all came. I'm here to ask for the vote. That's what I'm doing.

I believe you got to get out amongst the people and ask for the vote and tell them why you're running. That's what I'm here to do today. I'm also here to ask for your help. I'd like for you to register your friends and neighbors. I'd like for you to remind people in the community in which you live, we have a responsibility in a free society to go to the polls.

When you're out there registering, make sure you register all Republicans. Make sure you register independents. Don't overlook discerning Democrats like Zell Miller. And then once you get them registered, get them headed to the polls. And when you get them headed to the polls, tell them, if they want a safer America, a stronger America, and a better America, to put me and Dick Cheney back in office.

My only regret is that Laura is not here with me. She was a public school librarian in Texas when I asked her to marry me. She said, "Fine, I'll marry you, just so long as I never have to give a political speech." [*Laughter*] I said, "Okay." Fortunately, she didn't hold me to the promise. The other night in New York City, the American people got to see Laura at her best, her—decent, strong, compassionate woman. She's a great mom, a great wife. She needs to be the First Lady for 4 more years.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. I'm proud of my runningmate, Dick Cheney. Now, listen, I admit he doesn't have the waviest hair in the race. [*Laughter*] Some of you out there don't either. [*Laughter*] I didn't pick him for his hair. I picked him for his judgment. I picked him because he's a man of a lot of experience. I picked him because he can get the job done on behalf of the American people.

I want to thank Peter Cianchette, my chairman here in the State. I want to thank all of the grassroots activists, people like Pete who are putting up the signs and making the phone calls. It takes a lot of work to get this many people to show up here in Bangor, Maine. I want to thank all of those who helped turn out such a great crowd. I appreciate your effort. It means a lot.

I'm sorry the two United States Senators are—they're working for you. I appreciate their friendship. I'm proud to call Olympia Snowe and Susan Collins friends. I know you're proud to call them Senator.

I want to thank all the statehouse people who are here. I appreciate you serving your community. I appreciate your serving your State. I also appreciate Brian Hamel. I flew down from Washington, DC, with Brian Hamel. I had a chance to visit with him. There's no doubt in my mind he should be the next Congressman from the 2d Congressional District. And I want to thank his wife, Gail, and his daughters, Natalie, Abbie, and Molly, for supporting their dad when he's out running for the Congress.

I want to thank Charlie Summers. He's running the 1st Congressional District. When he wins, he's going to have old 41 and Barbara as constituents. [*Laughter*]

I want to thank Jim Tobin, my regional chairman.

I want to thank Mark Wills for being here. Mark, thank you. Proud you're here. I want to thank the high school band that's joined us today, John Bapst Band. Thank you for coming. I will try to keep my speech short so you can get home and do your homework. [*Laughter*]

I want to thank Steve Hanington. He's the president of the American's Logger Council. I appreciate you coming. I want to thank all the loggers who are here today. Thank you for helping us put together the Healthy Forests Initiative, good piece of legislation. I appreciate you working on it with us. I want to thank the lobstermen who are here with us today. [*Applause*] Oh, yes.

I want to thank the Bangor Chapter of the Blue Star Mothers of America for being here. Thank you for coming. The Freeport Flag Ladies are with us. WAVES International is with us. Veterans of the Military Order of the Purple Heart are with us.

I'm really looking forward to this campaign. I like to get out and talk about what I believe, where I stand, and where I'm going to lead this Nation for the next 4 years. I believe every child can learn and every school should teach. I went to Washington, DC, to challenge the soft bigotry of low expectation. We had a practice in this country where, in some public schools, kids were just shuffled through grade after grade, year after year, without learning the basics. And that wasn't right. We need to raise the standards. We need to trust the local people to design a curriculum that works best in the local community. We need to support our teachers and principals. We need to measure early and solve problems, before they're too late.

The reforms we passed are working. And the minority gap is closing. The achievement gap amongst minority students is closing in America. We're making progress, and we're not turning back.

I believe we have a moral responsibility to honor our citizens with good health care. See, I went up to Washington to solve problems, not to pass them on to future Presidents and future generations. I saw a problem in Medicare. Medicine was changing, and Medicare wasn't. Take this fact: Medicare would pay $100,000 for heart surgery but wouldn't pay for the prescription drugs to prevent the heart surgery from being needed in the first place. That wasn't fair for our seniors. It meant the system needed to be changed for the better. I called the Republicans and Democrats together. I signed a law that strengthened Medicare. Our seniors will be getting prescription drugs in 2006, and we're not turning back.

I believe in the energy, innovation, and spirit of our workers, our loggers, our lobstermen, our small-business owners, our farmers and ranchers. And that's why we unleashed that energy with the largest tax cut in a generation.

We've been through a lot. This economy has been through a lot. When you're out there rounding up the vote, remind people what we have been through. That stock market started to go down about 5 months before we showed up in Washington. Then we had a recession we had to live with. Started to come out of that recession, and some citizens in this country forgot what it meant to be a responsible citizen. They fudged the books. They didn't tell the truth. It created a crisis of confidence. Those corporate scandals hurt our economy. We've passed tough laws in Washington. It's abundantly clear now that we're not going to tolerate dishonesty in the boardrooms of America. And then the enemy hit us. Some estimate that it cost us a million jobs in the 3 months after September the 11th.

I mean, we've been through some tough times when it comes to this economy. Yet,

we're overcoming those obstacles. Our economy is strong, and it is getting stronger. Our economy has been growing at rates as fast as any in nearly 20 years. The national unemployment rate is 5.4 percent. That's lower than the average of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. The unemployment rate in the State of Maine is 4.5 percent. This economy is strong. It is getting stronger, and we're not going to turn back.

I believe the most solemn duty of the American President is to protect the American people. If America shows uncertainty and weakness in this decade, the world will drift toward tragedy. This will not happen on my watch.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. I am running for President with a clear and positive plan to build a safer world and a more hopeful America. I'm running with a compassionate conservative philosophy that Government should help people improve their lives, not try to run their lives. I believe this Nation wants steady, consistent, principled leadership. And that's why, with your help, we'll carry Maine and win a great victory in November.

I understand the world we live in is changing. Think about what happened over the past 30 years. You know, the workplace used to be a place where a man would only show up, and they'd have one job, one career, one pension plan, one health care plan. Today, the world is different. People change jobs and careers quite often. And today, the workplace is diversified. Women work in the house and, now, out of the house. And yet, when you think about it, the most fundamental institutions, our Tax Code, our health coverage, our pension plans, our worker training programs, our labor laws, were created for the world of yesterday, not tomorrow. I'm running to transform these systems so all our citizens are equipped and prepared and thus truly free to make your own choices and realize the great dreams of our country.

Listen, any hopeful society has got to have a growing economy. And I have a plan to make sure this prosperity lasts. To create more jobs in America, America must be the best place in the world to do business. If you want jobs here, if you want people to be able to find a job, it's got to be the best place in the world. And that means less regulations on our small-business owners. That means we got to do something about these junk lawsuits that are making it hard for employers to expand the job base.

Listen, if you want to keep jobs here, we got to have us an energy plan. I proposed a plan to the United States Congress 2 years ago. They need to get it to my desk. If we want jobs to be created here, we got to do a better job on conservation. We got to do a better job on promoting renewables such as ethanol and biodiesel. We got to modernize our electricity grid. We got to use our clean coal technology to make sure we can use the energy here at home. We got to explore for natural gas in environmentally friendly ways. If we want jobs here in America, this country must become less dependent on foreign sources of energy.

Part of my plan to make sure jobs are here in America so people can find work is to open up markets overseas. See, we open our markets. And that's good for you as a consumer. If you have more products to choose from, you're likely to get that which you want at a better price and higher quality. That's how the market works. So I'm saying to places like China, "You treat us the way we treat you. You open up your markets just like we have ours." See, we can compete with anybody, anytime, anywhere, so long as the rules are fair.

To make sure this economy grows, we got to be wise about how we spend your money and keep your taxes low. Taxes are an issue in this campaign. The fellow I'm running against has proposed $2.2 trillion in new Federal spending so far.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. And we still got October to go. [*Laughter*] Two trillion dollars is a lot, even for a Senator from Massachusetts. [*Laughter*] So they asked him, they said, "Well, how are you going to pay for this?" He said, "I'll just tax the rich." Now, you've heard that before, haven't you? First of all, you can't raise enough money to pay for 2.2 trillion by taxing the rich. There's a tax gap. Guess who gets to fill the tax gap in American history. You do. Secondly, when they say "tax

the rich," be careful. It's rich—rich hire lawyers and accountants for a reason, to stick you with the bill. We're not going to let him raise your taxes. We're going to carry Maine, and we're going to win in November.

Let me also say something about the Tax Code. The Tax Code is a complicated mess. You realize, it's a million pages long. Americans spend 6 billion hours a year on taxes. I think we need to simplify the Tax Code. I think we need to make the Tax Code more fair. I'm going to call Republicans and Democrats together in a new term to make sure this Tax Code works for the people, not against the people.

Listen, in a changing world, the job base changes, and there's a skills gap in America in some places. You know, I remember going down to North Carolina where the textile industry had been hit hard and yet, the health care industry was growing. And there's a skills gap, because a lot of people in the textile industry who wanted to work didn't have the skills necessary to be in the health care industry. That's why I'm such a big believer in the community college system here in America. We need to make our community colleges accessible so workers can gain the skills they need to fill the jobs of the 21st century.

And most new jobs are filled by people with at least 2 years of college. That's what the changing world demands. And yet, only about one in four of our students gets there. That's why, in our high schools, we'll fund early intervention programs to help students at risk. We'll place a new focus on math and science. Over time, we'll require a rigorous exam before graduation from high school. By raising performance in our high schools and by expanding Pell grants for low- and middle-income families, more Americans will start their careers with a college degree.

We've got to do something about our health care system. We have a fundamental difference in this campaign about health care. When it comes to health care, my opponent wants Government to dictate. I want you to decide. Half the uninsured in America work for small businesses. Small businesses are having trouble affording health care. One way to help small businesses, one way to help those who work for small businesses is to allow small businesses to pool together to be able to buy insurance at the same discounts big companies are able to do. My opponent opposes such a plan. See, ours is commonsense plan. Ours is a practical plan. Ours is a plan that doesn't let the Federal Government decide everything for you.

I believe that we ought to expand tax-free health savings accounts. I believe we ought to give small businesses tax credits, to encourage them to put money in small—in health savings accounts, so small-business employees can get coverage. I know we need to expand community health centers all across America, places where the poor and the indigent can get good primary and preventative care.

I know—I'll tell you what else I know. In order to make sure we do something about the rising cost of health care and the availability of health care, we got to stop these junk lawsuits that are running good docs out of practice. Ask your doctor what it's like to get sued all the time. A lot of them are quitting practice. I met ob-gyns across the country, all across the country who are quitting their practice. That means a lot of women are hurting, all of it because these junk lawsuits are running up the cost of staying in business. It doesn't make any sense. You can't be pro-doctor, pro-patient, and pro-trial-lawyer at the same time. I think you have to make a choice. My opponent has made his choice, and he put a trial lawyer on the ticket.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I made my choice. I stand for medical liability reform—now.

Now, there's a lot of—a big difference in this campaign. But anything we do in this administration to make sure health care is available and affordable will mean that the decisions will be made by doctors and patients, not by bureaucrats and insurance companies and the Government.

New term, let me tell you what else we're going to do. In a changing times, ownership helps bring stability to people's life. During my administration, more people own a home than ever before. More and more people are owning their own home. What a hopeful sign that is. What a stabilizing influence that is.

Over the next 4 years, we'll continue to expand homeownership. I like the thought of more and more people opening up the door where they live and saying, "Welcome to my piece of property. Welcome to my home. Come on in to my place."

I tell you what else we need to think about, and that is the retirement systems. Let me talk about Social Security here for a minute. If you're on Social Security, you'll be paid. Don't care what they say in the course of the campaigns. The Government will honor its commitment to you. The Social Security trust has got enough money to take care of you. Baby boomers like me, we're in pretty good shape when it comes to Social Security. But we need to think about the younger kids. We need to think about our children and our grandchildren. I believe younger workers ought to be allowed to take some of their own money and set aside a personal savings account to make sure that Social Security works, a personal savings account they call their own, a personal savings account that Government cannot take away.

In a world of change, some things do not change, the values we try to live by, courage and compassion, reverence and integrity. In times of change, we must support the institutions that give our lives direction and purpose, our families, our schools, our religious congregations.

We stand for a culture of life in which every person counts and every being matters. We stand for marriage and family, which are the foundations of our society. I stand for the appointment of Federal judges who know the difference between personal opinion and the strict interpretation of the law. I stand for supporting faith-based organizations. Men and women of faith are performing works of hope and compassion all across our country. They're renewing communities. They're helping lift up lives, and they deserve fair treatment by our Government.

That's a position I share with Republicans and Democrats from many callings in life, including a fine citizen in Maine named John Kerry. Now, Kerry runs Catholic Charities Maine in Falmouth, which helps people all over this State. A few years ago, the city of Portland denied Federal funding to Catholic Charities because John Kerry refused to compromise his organization's beliefs. Here's what he said: "Just because you're religious doesn't mean you should be stopped from providing services." That's one John Kerry I agree with.

For those of you involved in your communities, for those of you who've heard the call to love a neighbor like you'd like to be loved yourself, thank you for your works of compassion. Thank you for making a difference in America.

This election will also determine how America responds to the continuing danger of terrorism. Since the terrible morning of September the 11th, 2001, we have fought the terrorists across the Earth, not for pride, not for power, but because the lives of our citizens are at stake. Our strategy is clear. We're defending the homeland. We're transforming our military. We're strengthening our intelligence services. We are staying on the offensive. We are striking the terrorists abroad so we do not have to face them here at home. We will work to advance liberty and freedom in the broader Middle East and around the world, and we will prevail.

Our strategy is succeeding. Think about the world some 4 years ago. Afghanistan was the home base of Al Qaida. Pakistan was a transit point for terrorist groups. Saudi Arabia was fertile ground for terrorist fundraising. Libya was secretly pursing nuclear weapons. Iraq was a gathering threat. Al Qaida was largely unchallenged as it planned attacks.

Today, because we acted, Afghanistan is fighting terror; Pakistan is capturing terrorist leaders; Saudi Arabia is making raids and arrests; Libya is dismantling its nuclear weapons programs; the army of a free Iraq is fighting for freedom; and more than three-quarters of Al Qaida's leaders and associates have been brought to justice. We have led. Many have joined, and America and the world are safer.

This progress involved careful diplomacy, clear moral purpose, and some tough decisions.

Audience member. That's what you have! Thank you!

The President. And the toughest decision came on Iraq. See, we knew Saddam's record. We knew he harbored terrorists like

Abu Nidal. That's the leader of the terrorist organization that carried out attacks in Europe and Asia. We knew he—Saddam harbored Abu Abbas. He took—found refuge in Baghdad after he killed an American, Leon Klinghoffer. Saddam paid the families of suicide bombers. Saddam was a sworn enemy of America. Saddam not only desired weapons of mass destruction; he used weapons of mass destruction. Saddam was a threat. He was a threat. And after September the 11th, our country must think differently. We must take threats seriously before they fully materialize.

So I went to the Congress. They looked at the same intelligence I looked at. They remembered the same history I remembered, and they concluded Saddam Hussein was a threat and authorized the use of force. My opponent looked at the same intelligence, and he voted "yes" when it came to the authorization of force.

Listen, before the Commander in Chief ever puts any troops into harm's way, we must try all options—all options—to solve a problem. That's why I went to the United Nations. I was hoping diplomacy would work. I was hoping we could solve this problem peacefully. The toughest decision a President ever has to make is to put our kids into harm's way.

So I gave a speech to the United Nations. They looked at the same intelligence I had looked at. They remembered the same history we remembered. And they voted 15 to nothing to say to Saddam Hussein, "Disclose, disarm, or face serious consequences." The other day in the United Nations I said, "When an international body say something, they better mean what they say. If you don't mean it, don't say it."

Saddam Hussein ignored the demands of the free world—again. This wasn't the first resolution he ignored. He had been ignoring resolutions for nearly a decade. He wasn't about to disarm. He wasn't about to listen to the world. As a matter of fact, when the U.N. sent inspectors into that country, he systematically deceived the inspectors.

So I have a choice at this point. Diplomacy has failed. We had given Saddam Hussein his last chance, his decision to make. Do I take the word of a madman and forget the lessons of September the 11th, or take action to defend this country? Given that choice, I will defend America every time.

Because we acted to defend ourself, because we mean—we meant what we said, today, 50 million people in Afghanistan and Iraq live in freedom. I want you to think about Afghanistan here for a minute. It wasn't all that long ago that these poor people were subjected to the brutal ways of the Taliban. These barbarians have a dark vision of the world. As a matter of fact, they think exactly opposite of Americans. They're against—they don't believe in freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of anything. They believe you either toe their line or there will be reprisals.

Think about a society in which many young girls were not allowed to go to school because of the Taliban or a society in which their mothers were pulled out in the public square and whipped and in some cases executed in the sports stadium because they wouldn't toe the line. Today, because America acted, 10 million citizens, 41 percent of whom are women, have registered to vote in the upcoming October Presidential elections. It's an amazing thought, isn't it? It's an amazing statistic, when you think about it.

There were some skeptics who thought, well, maybe people don't want to be free. Everybody longs to be free. People yearn to be free in this world. And those 10 million citizens are showing it as this election comes closer. Of course, there's going to be violence, because these dark-visioned people, these evil folks cannot stand the thought of a free society emerging in that part of the world.

Today I met with Prime Minister Allawi, a strong man. He does deserve our praise. He's a courageous fellow. In the press conference I had with him today, I reminded the people that were listening that Prime Minister Allawi woke up in an apartment one day in London, England—see, he had been exiled out of Iraq; Saddam Hussein wanted to get him—and he woke up in a bed—this is a true story I'm telling you; he told me personally—he woke up in the middle of the night. Two people were standing by his bed with axes. They had been sent by Saddam Hussein. Fortunately, by the grace of God,

he woke up in time, rolled—got hurt pretty bad, recovered, went back to his country because he believes in freedom. He's ready to do the hard work. He is a strong man. There will be elections in January of 2005 in Iraq. And we're going to stand with the people of Afghanistan and Iraq because when America gives its word, America must keep its word.

We're also making our country safer. See, free societies in the Middle East will be hopeful societies which no longer feed resentments and breed violence for export. Free governments in the Middle East will fight the terrorists instead of harboring them and supporting them. Listen, our strategy is clear. We'll help the new leaders train armies so that Iraq citizens and Afghan citizens can do the hard work of defending their country against those who would stop the advance of freedom. There are over 25 million people in that country who desire to be free. There's only a few, relative to the 25 million, who are trying to start—stop the march of freedom. We'll help them get on the path of stability and democracy as quickly as possible, then our troops will come home with the honor they have earned.

I am proud of the United States military. I'm proud of the men and women who serve. I've seen their unselfish courage and their great decency. I want to thank the veterans who are here for having set such a great example for those who wear the uniform. You know, the airport here is often the first stop in the United States for our troops returning home. No matter what hour they arrive or what the weather is like, citizens of Maine come here to thank our troops for their service. It's got to make them feel great. I thank you for doing that.

I met Bill Knight. He organizes the Maine Troop Greeters to welcome military personnel here. I appreciate Bill, and I appreciate all those who work with Bill.

I want to thank the military families who are here today. I made a commitment to our troops and to their loved ones: They'll have all the resources they need to do their jobs. So I went to the Congress last year and requested $87 billion of supplemental funding to support our troops in combat in both Afghanistan and Iraq. This was really important money. This was money for fuel, spare parts, body armor, hazard pay, health benefits, that which is necessary to support people in harm's way. And it was important. Fortunately, most Members of the Congress understood how important it was. We got great bipartisan support, so strong that only 12 Members—12 Members—of the United States Senate voted against this important funding, 2 of whom are my opponent and his runningmate.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. When you're out gathering the vote, when you're out convincing people to go to the polls and vote, remind them of this fact: Only four United States Senators voted to authorize the use of force and then voted against funding our troops, two of whom are my opponent and his runningmate.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Of course, they asked him, you know, they said, "Why?" And he said, "Well, I actually did vote for the 87 billion, before I voted against it." I don't think a lot of people speak that way in Bangor, Maine. They kept pressing him, and he said he was proud of his vote. Finally, he said the whole thing was a complicated matter. There's nothing complicated about supporting our troops in combat.

There's hard work to do in Iraq. The Prime Minister told me they're making progress. Yet, as we're seeing on our TV screens, the terrorists are desperately trying to block that progress, is what they're trying to do. Our military cannot be beat in Iraq. They can't beat us. They do have a weapon, though, and that is, they're coldblooded killers. They'll behead somebody, and our prayers go to the families here in America. Our hearts break when we see that on our TV screens. These killers know that. See, they know we have a conscience, and they don't. They're trying to shake our will.

We're going to help this Government in Iraq. We'll help them——

[*At this point, there was a disturbance in the audience.*]

The President. ——help them build their troops. We'll help them build their infrastructure. We have a strategy that says to our

commanders, "Adapt to the ways on the ground. You've got the support your need to do what you need to do." The way to prevail, the way toward the successful conclusion we all want, the way to secure Iraq and bring our troops home is not to wilt or waver or send mixed signals to the enemy. We can grieve, but we will not waver.

Incredibly, this week my opponent said he would prefer the dictatorship of Saddam Hussein to the situation in Iraq today.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. You cannot lead the war on terror if you wilt when times are tough. You cannot expect the Iraqi people to stand up and do the hard work of democracy if you are pessimistic about their abilities. You cannot expect the Iraqi people to do the hard work if you say that they'd be better off with Saddam Hussein in power. What kind of message does it send our troops, who are risking their lives and who see firsthand the mission is hard but know the mission is critical to our success? Mixed signals are the wrong signals. I will continue to lead with clarity, and when I say something, I'll mean what I say.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. I appreciate the contributions of our friends and allies. I appreciate what they've been doing, side by side with our troops and the Iraqi troops. Listen, we got a—put together a broad coalition of about 40 nations in Afghanistan and some 30 nations in Iraq. Over the next 4 years, I'll continue to strengthen our alliances. But I will never turn over America's national security decisions to other countries.

I believe in the transformational power of liberty. The wisest use of America's strength is to advance freedom. A couple of days ago in New York, I was having a Diet Coke with my friend Prime Minister Koizumi. He's the Prime Minister of Japan. I said, "You know, I've been talking about you on the campaign trail." He said, "Fine." [*Laughter*] I said, "Do you mind if I tell people your favorite singer was Elvis?" [*Laughter*] He said, "Okay."

It's amazing that I am having that discussion with Prime Minister Koizumi, if you really think about it, because it wasn't all that long ago in the march of history, some 60 years ago, Japan was a sworn enemy of the United States of America. My dad fought them. Your dads and granddads probably did as well. And it was a tough war. A lot of people lost their life. But after we won World War II, Harry Truman, one of my predecessors, believed in the power of liberty to transform societies and said, "We'll work with Japan to build a democracy."

There were a lot of skeptics then, and you can imagine why. A lot of families had been turned upside down because of loss of life in that horrible war. A lot of people were still angry that the Japanese had attacked us in Pearl Harbor. A lot of people didn't believe an enemy could become a friend. But there were people like Harry Truman in this country who believed in the power of liberty. And today, as a result of their belief—think about this now—I sit down with Prime Minister Koizumi, and we talk about the peace we all want. We're talking about the peace. Someday, an American President will be sitting down with a duly elected leader of Iraq talking about the peace, and our children and our grandchildren will be better off for it.

These are historic times—historic times—and the work is hard. But we've done hard work before in this country. I believe that millions in the Middle East plead in silence for their liberty. I believe that women in the Middle East long to be free. I know that women in the Middle East want their little girls and boys to be able to grow up and realize their dreams. I believe that the people there, if given a chance, will embrace the most honorable form of government ever devised by man. I believe these things because freedom is not America's gift to the world; freedom is the Almighty God's gift to each man and woman in this world.

This young century will be liberty's century. By promoting freedom at home and abroad, we'll build a safer world and a more hopeful America. By reforming our systems of Government, we'll help more Americans realize their dreams. We'll spread ownership and opportunity to every corner of America. We will pass the enduring values of our country on to a young generation. We will continue to lead the cause of freedom and peace.

For all Americans, these years in our history will always stand apart. There are quiet

times in the life of a nation when little is expected of its leaders. This isn't one of those times. This is a time that requires firm resolve, clear vision, and a deep faith in the values that make this a great nation.

None of us will ever forget that week when one era ended and another began. I certainly won't. I was there in the ruins of the Twin Towers on September the 14th, 2001. The workers there—I can still hear them—were chanting at me, "Whatever it takes." I was doing my best to console folks who had just come out of the rubble. A guy grabbed me by the arm. He looked me straight in the eye and said, "You do not let me down." Ever since that day, I wake up trying to figure out how best to protect our country. I will defend the security of America, whatever it takes.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Four years ago, as I traveled your great State asking for the vote, I made a pledge. I said that if you gave me the chance to serve, I would uphold the honor and the dignity of the office to which I had been elected. With your help, with your hard work, I will do so for 4 more years.

God bless. Thanks for coming. Thank you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:03 p.m. at the Bangor International Airport. In his remarks, he referred to Senator Zell Miller of Georgia, who made the keynote address at the Republican National Convention; Peter Cianchette, Maine State chairman, and Jim Tobin, New England regional chairman, Bush-Cheney '04, Inc.; Brian Hamel, candidate for Congress in Maine's 2d Congressional District; Charlie Summers, candidate for Congress in Maine's 1st Congressional District; country music entertainer Mark Wills; senior Al Qaida associate Abu Musab Al Zarqawi; Prime Minister Ayad Allawi of the Iraqi Interim Government; and Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi of Japan.

Remarks to Army Reservists and National Guard Troops Departing for Iraq From Bangor

September 23, 2004

The President. I want to thank you all very much.

Troops. Hooah!

The President. I appreciate your service to the country. I appreciate being in the presence of such fine men and women. May God bless you all. May God keep you safe. May God bless America as well. Thank you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:47 p.m. aboard a World Airlines plane at the Air National Guard Base at Bangor International Airport. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Statement on Congressional Passage of Legislation To Extend Tax Relief

September 23, 2004

The tax relief I worked with Congress to pass is putting more money into the hands of the American people and helping to grow our economy. As the economy strengthens, the last thing hard-working American families need is a tax increase. I commend the Members of Congress for acting to extend marriage penalty relief, the $1,000 child tax credit, and the broader 10-percent individual tax rate—which would otherwise expire this year and raise taxes on nearly 94 million Americans. This legislation will give families and small businesses added certainty and keep us on the path to greater prosperity, and it brings us one step closer to making the tax relief permanent.

Message on the Observance of Yom Kippur, 5765

September 23, 2004

"The Lord, the Lord God is gracious and compassionate, patient, abounding in kindness and faithfulness, assuring love for a thousand generations, forgiving iniquity, transgression and sin, and granting pardon."

Exodus: 34:6–7

On Yom Kippur, Jews around the world gather to mark the holiest day of the year, the Sabbath of Sabbaths. Jewish tradition teaches that on this day, we receive God's mercy through acts of atonement, prayer, and charity. During this season of prayer and intense reflection, may you find comfort in

God's promise, which has never been broken and which is renewed in our time.

Our trust in God gives all Americans great purpose. As we are called to acts of compassion and mercy, we come closer to God and serve a cause greater than ourselves. May you trust God's faithfulness to all people, and may you be blessed with a good and happy New Year.

George W. Bush

NOTE: An original was not available for verification of the content of this message.

Remarks on Departure for Janesville, Wisconsin

September 24, 2004

Relief Efforts for Beslan, Russia

The President. Listen, thank you all for coming. The barbaric terrorist attack on a Russian school 3 weeks ago sickened the world. America grieves with the people of Russia, and we pray for the innocent victims and their families in Beslan.

In America, we've witnessed an outpouring of compassion for the Russian people. Today I'm joined by Sue Huddle and her students from John Quincy Adams Elementary School in Washington, DC. Thank you all for coming. They helped organize a toy and school supply drive for the children of Beslan.

Kelsey O'Marra is here too. She is a seventh grader at Connelly School of the Holy Child in Potomac, Maryland. She helped lead a school fundraiser to help the victims of Beslan. Kelsey, thank you for your leadership and your compassion.

These children show the sympathy and compassion and generosity of our whole Nation. I'm also joined by Marty Evans, the President of the American Red Cross. Thanks for coming, Marty.

Marty Evans. Yes, sir.

The President. The Red Cross is working hard to make sure the people in Beslan get the help they need. Red Cross and Red Crescent societies around the world have already received $680,000 in donations for aid to Russia, enough to provide emergency medical care and counseling for 2,000 people. I want to thank Marty for her leadership and her tireless efforts. I thank all Americans who have contributed to this important cause. I hope many more will donate in the days ahead.

I'm also honored to be with the Ambassador from Russia, Yuriy Ushakov. Thank you, Mr. Ambassador, for coming. He's here with the children from the Russian Embassy School. Earlier this month, I went to the Russian Embassy to express my condolences on behalf of the American people. The atrocities in Beslan reinforce the need for free nations to work together for peace and security. All Americans stand with the people of Russia in this wake of tragedy. We will stand with them as they rebuild, just like we stand with the people of Florida.

Another storm is headed in that direction. It will be another test of will and compassion. I know the Red Cross is ready, and I want to thank the Red Cross for being ready the help the citizens of that beleaguered State one more time. We extend our prayers to the people down there. We hope for the very best. The Federal Government, the armies of compassion stand ready to help.

Thank you all for coming. Thank you for your compassion. May God bless the people of Russia and the United States. Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:57 a.m. on the South Portico at the White House.

Remarks in a Discussion on Education in Janesville

September 24, 2004

The President. Thank you all for coming. Thanks for coming. I'm proud you're here. I appreciate you coming. Please be seated. Please be seated. We've got a little work to do. I'm here to tell you why I'm running for President again. First, I'm here to tell you I'm asking for your vote and your support.

I'm really pleased to be back in the State of Wisconsin. It's a fabulous place you got here. What a wonderful State. The people are kind and generous and hardworking. It's—Laura and I love coming. Speaking about Laura, I wish she were here with me. No, I know, she's out campaigning. A lot of

times they say, well, I'd rather you stay home, President, and let Mrs. Bush come. [*Laughter*] But I can understand the logic.

It's a true story—when I said, "Laura, will you marry me," she said, "Fine, just so long as I never have to give any speeches." [*Laughter*] I said, "Okay." Fortunately, she didn't hold me to the promise. People in the country got to see her speak in New York a while ago. They saw a compassionate, strong, decent woman in Laura Bush. I love her dearly, and I'm really proud of her. I like to tell people, I'm going to give you some reasons to put me back in for 4 more years, but perhaps the most important one of all, so that Laura will be First Lady for 4 more years.

I'm proud of my runningmate, Dick Cheney. He's working hard. I tell people he doesn't have the curliest hair in the race. [*Laughter*] I didn't pick him because of his hairdo. [*Laughter*] I picked him because of his experience and judgment. I picked him because he can get the job done for the American people.

I'm proud of Paul Ryan. I'm proud of working with your Congressman. He's a good, solid man, I'm telling you. He's smart, capable. He's a good thinker. He married well in Janna. [*Laughter*] He keeps bugging me to come to his congressional district as often as possible, and now I know why. It's a beautiful part of the world.

I know Dave Magnum is with us. I wish him best in his run for the United States Congress in the 2d Congressional District. Good luck. Tim Michels was with us. I think he spoke and left to go campaign.

Listen, I want to thank all the local officials who are here and all the grassroots activists. I want to thank you face to face for what you're going to do, which is put up the signs and make the phone calls and head the people to the polls and register people to vote. And let me tell you something, when you're registering people to vote, don't forget discerning Democrats like Zell Miller. There's a lot of Democrats out there, a lot of independents out there who want this country to be safer and stronger and better, and they know that Dick Cheney and I can get the job done.

Today when we landed, I met Tami Doetch. Where are you, Tami? Somewhere—oh, there she is. Good. Thanks for coming. She was at the base of Air Force One, right there at the steps. I'll tell you why she was out there. She is a teacher at Wilson Elementary School, right here in Janesville, Wisconsin. She won the Department of Education's American Stars of Teaching award. Let me tell you, that's a long—those are long—that's a long phrase for saying, she's a really good teacher. She's an excellent teacher. She embodies the spirit of the education reform we passed. She's willing to challenge the soft bigotry of low expectations. She understands, if you have low expectations for the children, you'll achieve lousy results. If you raise the standard, if you raise the sights, if you have excellence as your goal and you believe in using curriculum that works and you're willing to measure to determine that which you're using is working, you can achieve excellence in the classroom. And that's why Tami Doetch is here. I want to thank you for your compassion. I want to thank you for teaching.

We're closing an achievement gap here in America. See, we measured and determined that some kids weren't learning, and it just wasn't right, when you think about it. Think about a system that just shuffled kids through. That's a system that's not hopeful, as far as I was concerned. And so we're measuring early; we're solving problems before they're too late. And an achievement gap is closing in America, and we're not going to turn back to the old days. We're not going to turn back to the old days of not expecting the best for every single child in America. We're making great progress toward excellence.

As you can see, I've been joined by some of the citizens from this fine community. We're going to talk about education. But before we do that, I want to talk about a couple of other things. First, I want you to understand, I know that we live in a changing world. And it's important for Government systems to change with that changing world. When I say "changing world," listen, there are a lot of women who now work inside the home and outside the home. But the labor

laws were designed for yesterday. See, I believe we ought to change labor laws so that women and moms can have flex-time and comp-time, so they can balance family time with work time and do their job—be able to do both jobs.

In the old days, a person would have one job and one career for their entire lifetime. Today, people change jobs often and careers often. And yet, the worker training programs don't reflect the changing times. We're going to talk about worker training here in a minute. The pension plans, for example, were designed for yesterday. Now, look, if you're on Social Security, nothing is going to change. I don't care what they tell you in the course of this campaign. You're going to get your check. You know how it goes every time campaign season comes around. You might remember what happened in this State 4 years ago during that campaign time. People were—said, "If Bush gets elected, you're not going to get your Social Security check." It didn't happen, did it?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. Yes, you're getting your check, and you're going to continue to get your check. Now, baby boomers, we're probably going to get our checks too. It's the younger kids we've got to worry about. It's the children and the grandchildren. We need to be thinking about tomorrow, not yesterday. I believe younger workers ought to be able to take some of their own money and set up a personal savings account to make sure the Social Security system fulfills its promise to a younger generation of Americans.

The health care system needs to change. People are changing jobs. If they're changing jobs, the system ought to help them design insurance programs they can take job to job and call their own. That's why I'm for health savings accounts. Health savings accounts is a tax-free way for workers to set aside money, or workers' employee—employers to set aside money that they can count—they call their own. So they're the decisionmaker.

There's catastrophic care in there for the worker, as well as a savings account. And if they don't spend that money on routine health costs, it's theirs. They can carry it from year to year, and generation to generation. It makes sense. It's a commonsensical plan, particularly if you think the Federal Government should not be running health care.

And that's where we have a difference in this campaign. It's a big difference in this campaign. The fellow I'm running against believes that the Federal Government ought to be making your decisions. That's what he believes. We just have an honest difference of opinion. Everything we're going to do is to make sure the decisionmaking is between patients and doctors, not by bureaucrats in Washington, DC.

Several other points I want to make on health care right quick. One, we're going to take care of the poor in this country. I believe we have an obligation to do so. That's why I'm for community health centers. Community health centers are where the poor and indigent can get preventative care and primary care, as opposed to emergency rooms in local hospitals. We need to have community health centers in every poor county in America.

We're going to make sure our States access the children's health care programs for low-income families. We're going to make sure technology helps wring out some of the costs in health care. But do you realize 50 percent of the working uninsured work for small businesses? Now, think about that—50 percent of the working uninsured are employed by a small business, which means small businesses are obviously having a problem affording health care.

What I think ought to happen is small businesses ought to be allowed to pool risk across jurisdictional boundaries so they can buy health care at the same discounts that big companies can buy health care. That means the decisionmakers are the health care—the decisionmakers are the small-business owners and the employees. My opponent has a different view. He thinks we ought to be expanding Government programs. I just fundamentally disagree. We've got a practical, commonsense way to deal with health care cost and availability. And one practical, commonsense way is to get rid of these frivolous lawsuits that are running good docs out of business.

You can't be pro-doctor, pro-patient, pro-hospital, and pro-trial-lawyer at the same

time. [*Laughter*] I think you have to choose. My opponent made his choice, and he put a trial lawyer on the ticket. I made my choice. I am for medical liability reform—now.

At the heart of many of my programs is the concept of owning something. I think you can get a—you know, younger workers can own their own part of the Social Security system, an account they call their own; people can own their own health care plan they can take from job to job. One of the most hopeful statistics in a changing world is the fact that more and more people own their own home. Think about that. The homeownership rate is at an alltime high under my administration. I love the idea that more and more people are opening up their front door, where they live, saying, "Welcome to my home. Come in to my piece of property." A part of a hopeful society is to encourage ownership, and we will continue to do so over the next 4 years.

Part of a hopeful society is also—is to making sure the economy grows. Now, when you're out rounding up the vote, remind people what we have been through, and we've been through a lot. First of all, the stock market started to go down prior to my arrival in Washington, DC. It was the beginning of signs to come, because right after Dick Cheney and I got sworn in, we headed into a recession, three quarters of negative growth. And those were tough times for people. I know they were tough times. I know it's a tough time for small-business owners and workers. It's tough times when people are wondering whether or not there's stability in their lives.

We started to get—we really started to get our feet back on the ground, and then we ran into another problem. Some of the CEOs in America forgot what it meant to be a responsible American. See, a responsibility society says, you'll tell the truth. They didn't tell the truth. We passed tough laws. It's now abundantly clear, we're not going to tolerate dishonesty in the boardrooms of America.

And then we got hit. Then we got attacked. And those attacks cost us jobs. It hurt. It hurt in a lot of ways. I'm going to talk about what the attacks meant a little later on in terms of keeping the peace, too, and defending ourselves. But they hurt, and we're overcoming those obstacles. Our economy is strong. It's getting stronger. It's strong and getting stronger because we've got great workers in America. We've got fantastic entrepreneurs and small-business owners. We've got great farmers, many of whom live right here in the great State of Wisconsin. We created 1.7 million new jobs since August of '03. Things are getting better. We're overcoming the obstacles. The national unemployment rate is 5.4 percent. That's lower than the average of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. The unemployment rate in your State is 4.8 percent. People are working, and that's a good sign.

So the fundamental question is, how do we keep this prosperity going? We've recovered. We've recovered not only because we're good workers, good, hard people—good hard-working people, and we've got great entrepreneurial spirit, we've recovered, as well, because of tax cuts. Those tax cuts helped.

And so here's how we keep the prosperity going: One, we reduce the regulations and the cost of lawsuits on the people of this country that are employing people. The more lawsuits there are, the harder it is for people to be able to find a job. That's just the way it is. The more regulations there are, meaningless regulations, the harder it is for people to find work in America.

In order to make sure jobs stay right here in this country and people can find work, we need an energy policy that encourages conservation; that renews—uses renewable sources of energy like corn, through ethanol and biodiesel, as a result of soybeans; that uses technology to use coal in an environmentally friendly way; that allows us to explore for environmentally friendly ways for natural gas by use of technology. What I'm telling you is this: I've submitted a plan to the United States Congress—it is stuck—that will make us less dependent on foreign sources of energy and, in return, means people will be able to find work here at home.

There's another way to keep jobs here, is to encourage trade, is to reject economic isolationism. I know it sounds easy to say, well, jobs will stay here if we just wall ourself off from the rest of the world. I disagree. I strongly disagree. See, I think what we ought to be doing is opening up markets for U.S.

products. We open up our markets for other people, and that's good for you as a consumer. See, if you've got more products to choose from, you're likely to get that which you want at a better price and higher quality. That's how the marketplace works. That's why Presidents of both political parties said, we're going to open up our markets for the sake of consumers. What I'm saying to places like China is that you treat us the way we treat you. You open up your markets so that we have a chance to compete. Because the American farmer, worker, entrepreneur can compete with anybody, anytime, anywhere if the rules are fair.

Finally, one other point I want to make is that if you expect jobs to stay here at home, we've got to be wise about how we spend your money in Washington, DC. We got to be fiscally sound about using your money, and we've got to keep your taxes low. Running up your taxes right now will hurt this economic recovery, make no mistake about it.

We have a difference of opinion on taxes in this campaign, and I want you to remind your friends and neighbors about the difference. It starts with this: my opponent has promised over $2.2 trillion in new Federal spending—so far. [*Laughter*] And that's a lot of money for a fellow from Massachusetts. [*Laughter*] So they said, how are you going to pay for it? And his answer is this: He said, "We're going to tax the rich." Now, you've heard that before, haven't you?

We're about to talk to the so-called rich here in a minute, because about a million small businesses will have their taxes raised because they're Subchapter S and limited partnership. See, many small businesses pay tax at the individual income-tax levels. As a matter of fact, 90 percent of all small businesses pay tax at the individual income-tax level. So when you talk about running up the taxes on individuals, you're running up the tax on job creators, because 70 percent of the new jobs in America are created by small businesses. That's bad economic policy to tax the job creators, real bad.

Secondly, you can't raise the top two brackets and raise enough to pay for $2.2 trillion worth of new spending. Now, maybe this is the first campaign in the history where a campaign promise is broken before the election. [*Laughter*] Or there's a tax gap. There's a tax gap. Given my opponent's record, I suspect he wants to spend the money. And there's a tax gap. And guess who always gets to fill the tax gap? You do.

Finally, you've heard the rhetoric before, as well, and you know that the so-called rich hire lawyers and accountants for a reason—that's to stick you with the bill. That's what happens every single time, isn't it? We're not going to let him tax you. We're going to carry Wisconsin, and we're going to carry this country next November. [*Applause*]

Okay, no, no, we got work to do here. Hold on. I'm still telling you why I'm running. [*Laughter*] See, I think you've got to tell the people what you're going to do. I think you've got to come to the people and say, here's my vision, here's what I intend to do for the country. You can't decide to run for the sake of holding the office. You've got to tell the people what you intend to do. That's what I did the last time I ran. I did what I said I was going to do, and now I'm telling you what I'm going to do the next 4 years. [*Applause*]

Hold on for a minute, please, please, please. Thanks. Everybody likes to be cheered, but wait a minute; I got something to tell you. [*Laughter*] A changing world means that the nature of the job—the jobs change. That's what we're talking about here. Think about that. Jobs change in a changing world, and therefore, one of the fundamental challenges we have is to make sure that people have the skills necessary to fill the jobs of the 21st century.

One idea of what I'm talking about is this: In North Carolina there was a healthy textile industry for years. The textile industry became uneconomic. There was better competition. They got beat, and jobs started to get lost. At the same time, however, the health care industry started to grow; that was strong and viable. And there was a lot of health care jobs available, really good-paying health care jobs. As a matter of fact, better paying jobs in the health care field than there were in the—in some of the earlier North Carolina industries. And yet, there was a skills gap. And what we're here to talk about today is how to make sure people have access

to good education and good worker training programs so people can match their desire to work with the skills necessary to hold the jobs of the 21st century.

So here are some ideas. Here are some ideas. First, we're going to double the number of workers who are trained through the Worker Investment Act. We've got a great—a wonderful concept coming out of Washington, but we're not training enough workers with the money we spend. Therefore, we need to consolidate programs, strip away bureaucratic rules, get more money to States and community colleges.

Secondly, we're going to utilize our community colleges to make sure people have the skills necessary to fill the jobs of the 21st century. I've laid out a quarter-billion-dollar initiative for my '05 budget to help good community colleges develop the curriculum and recruit the students necessary so people can find work.

Third, we're going to talk about dual-enrollment programs here today. I think we ought to spend money at Washington, DC, to encourage high school students to go to both community college and high school at the same time. It's good for the student. It's good for the workforce. Third, I think we need to expand Pell grants. We've done so, so long as I've been the President. We've expanded Pell grants by a million students, since I've been the President of the United States, from 4.3 million to 5.3 million students. We upped the grant level of Pell grants.

But here's two new ideas. One is to reward students who take vigorous high school courses, with an extra $1,000 on their Pell grant. We ought to say, look, if you qualify for Pell grants, go ahead and take tougher courses in high school, math and sciences, which will be needed to fill the jobs of the 21st century, and we'll pay you extra money. It seems to make sense to me. I don't know if you know this, but Pell grants aren't for year-round schooling. That doesn't make any sense. If a student wants to go year round to school, the Pell grant ought to stay with the student. We ought to fund year-round schooling for Pell grant students. So there's some ideas to help people be able to go to college.

New loans—we ought to provide loans for workers for short-term training. You can't get loans, student loans today unless you meet certain criteria, and the criteria prevents short-term worker training. I think we ought to provide loans for people who want to go back to school to get retrained. And I know we need to increase access to higher education in rural and urban areas by eliminating financial aid rules that discourage distance learning.

What I'm telling you is this: Listen, the world we live in is changing. Jobs are changing. People are learning more over the Internet. We've got to be wise about how we spend your money, to reflect the changing times. The workforce rules ought to reflect tomorrow, not yesterday. Our community college systems ought to be supportive because they're good for helping the students get the skills for the jobs of today, not yesterday. What I'm telling you is that I've got a vision that recognizes we're living in a changing world and we're going to use our assets in wise ways to make sure America is a hopeful place for everybody.

So here's who—our first guest, Dr. Eric Larson. Welcome.

Eric A. Larson. Thank you, Mr. President.

The President. Yes. So, what do you do?

Dr. Larson. I'm the president of Blackhawk Technical College here in Rock County and also in Green County.

The President. Good. Everybody heard about it? [*Applause*] It's a good sign, everybody's heard about it. [*Laughter*]

Dr. Larson. They have. We know that one in nine people in our counties has had a contact from our college.

The President. Oh, good. That's good. So, tell us—listen, you've got some great programs. Tell them what the programs are.

[*Dr. Larson made brief remarks.*]

The President. Yes, listen. Let me—just listen real quick. This is why I'm such a big believer in community colleges. Some places of higher education have a little trouble changing their curriculum. [*Laughter*] Not to say their curriculum is bad, it's just they don't change. Eric just said that, our curriculum changes with demand. If a business needs

help training workers for a job expansion program, they design the curriculum along with the business, as I understand it.

Dr. Larson. That's correct. We work with the business. They will sit at the table with us as we develop that curriculum.

The President. It's pretty good for the community, by the way, to be able to say, we've got a community college. If you've got a—if you're bringing jobs here and you're worried about your workers being trained, bring them here, because our community college is a great place to have your workers trained. We're adjustable. We're flexible. We're affordable, and we are available when it comes to community college education.

What else? Give me some other—give us some other things. You've got dual enrollment?

Dr. Larson. We do. We have a dual-enrollment program where we have high school students coming to us from the Janesville public schools, and Blackhawk Technical College is offering the instruction. And one of our major health care operators here in town offers a facility for them. Obviously, this isn't a health care area. We train certified nurse assistants while they're in high school. When they graduate from high school, they have their college certificate to take a job as a CNA.

The President. Right, they've got an opportunity to find a job immediately or an opportunity to move on to a more advanced degree. But it happens while they're in high school. It seems to make a lot of sense to me, doesn't it? I mean, you ought to be giving everybody ample opportunity to be able to take advantage of education as it exists. And that's what's happening here at Blackhawk.

Jessica Palmer is with us.

Jessica Palmer. Hi. [*Laughter*]

The President. You ready to go?

Ms. Palmer. Yes.

The President. Okay, so you are how old?

Ms. Palmer. I am 19 years old.

The President. Good. Went to high school where?

Ms. Palmer. Craig High School in Janesville.

The President. You also went to——

Ms. Palmer. Blackhawk Technical College.

The President. When? [*Laughter*]

Ms. Palmer. In my senior year of high school.

The President. How about it? Amazing, isn't it? First, you've got to understand, you can't pass a law in Washington that says, Jessica, you will be an ambitious person—[*laughter*]—or you will take advantage of opportunities available to you. The role of Government is to make opportunity available, not to dictate to people, not to tell them how to live their lives, but to say, here's your chance so you can realize your dream. That's the fundamental difference of philosophy we have, by the way.

Okay, so you went to Blackhawk at the same time you're going to high school. Now, what was that like?

Ms. Palmer. It was pretty hard, but the school district let me get out of school early in order to do my schedule. I went to school at Blackhawk three nights a week.

The President. Three nights a week. Good. Less TV, more study. That's good. [*Laughter*] So you were studying to be what?

Ms. Palmer. Ultimately, a registered nurse.

The President. Ultimately, a registered nurse. Listen, there's great opportunities in the health care field, I'm telling you. Remember I told you about the North Carolina story? You know, we wept for the textile workers down there, and then we were joyous when we saw them get jobs in the health care field. The health care field is expanding, and it requires a certain skill set. And Jessica is learning the skill set early.

So what were you—so what did you get? What did you get? What kind of degree did you get out of the community college here?

Ms. Palmer. I have a certified nursing assistant certificate.

The President. And that means you can show up at the hospital and get after it.

Ms. Palmer. Yes. [*Laughter*]

The President. Take my pulse? No. [*Laughter*] Never mind, okay. So you are—so what are you doing now? You're working, going back to school? Tell us.

Ms. Palmer. Yes, I'm a full-time student at Blackhawk, and I work in a local health facility here in Janesville.

The President. So you're headed to be a registered nurse.

Ms. Palmer. Yes.

The President. And how much longer will that take, do you know?

Ms. Palmer. My clinical starts in the year 2006, and it's 2 years after that.

The President. Right. And the local hospital is helping you, as I understand, with the training.

Ms. Palmer. Yes, while I was in high school, they helped me out.

The President. With the curriculum, right. Explain it, will you. [*Laughter*]

Dr. Larson. Let me try to help her.

The President. Help me and her, will you? [*Laughter*]

[*Dr. Larson made further remarks.*]

The President. It is. We ought to expand these around the country. That's what I'm here to talk about, is to how to make sure job training opportunities are available for older workers and younger workers.

Steve Scaccia is with us, president of Freedom Plastics. Let me, first, before we get into job training and how compassionate this guy is and how wonderful their company is, is to tell you something about taxes. He runs a Subchapter S corporation. That means they pay tax at the individual income-tax rate. When you hear the talk about taxing the rich or raising the top two brackets, he gets taxed. That's what we're talking about in terms of taxing the rich. It doesn't make any sense the tax job creators like Steve. You listen to what he is doing for his workers, and you ask yourself, does it make sense to leave money inside his coffers or to send it up to Washington, DC. After hearing his story, I'd rather he'd spend the money, not the Government.

And so you tell us what you're doing with those workers in there.

[*Stephen D. Scaccia, president, Freedom Plastics, Inc., made brief remarks.*]

The President. It's an amazing story, isn't it? See, I hear stories like this—I hear entrepreneurial stories like this all over the country. It's why I believe that the role of Government is to create an environment for the entrepreneur to flourish, not to try to create wealth, not to tell people how to run their lives, it's to provide opportunity so people can not only realize dreams, but people can help others realize their dreams.

I love the small-business sector of this country. The entrepreneurial spirit is strong, thanks to people like Steve. And here's an interesting way to make sure the community college system is useful. Employers can use the community college system to make themselves more productive and, therefore, increase the wages of their employees. And young people coming up can use the community college system to realize their dreams.

So I want to thank you three for coming. You did a great job.

A couple of other things I want to talk about. First of all, in changing times, things don't change—the values we try to live by, courage and compassion, reverence and integrity; institutions we hold dear, our families, our schools, our religious congregations. I stand for a culture of life in which every person matters and every being counts. We stand for marriage and family, which are the foundations of our society. I stand for judges who know the difference between personal opinion and the strict interpretation of the law. And I stand for encouraging a responsibility society in America, where each of us understands we're responsible for the decisions we make in life.

I also know that—I also know my most important duty is to protect the American people. We show uncertainty or weakness in this decade, the world will drift toward tragedy. This isn't going to happen on my watch.

Let me tell you some of the lessons I learned as your President, some of the lessons I learned about September the 11th. Lesson one is that we face an enemy that's cold-blooded, and they are haters. They believe in an ideology of hate. They stand for the exact opposite we stand for in America. We believe in freedom of religion. We believe you should worship any way you want. If you choose to worship, or not worship, you're equally an American. If you choose to worship and you're a Muslim, Jew, or Christian, you're equally an American. That's what we believe. These people believe the exact opposite of that.

We believe you can speak your mind in America. We believe the press should be allowed to flourish. We believe in a lot of freedoms, and they don't. And they're willing to use terror as a tool. Therefore, lesson one is, you can never negotiate with these people; you can never hope for the best; you can't hope that somehow showing weakness will end up currying favor with them. The best way to protect the homeland is to stay on the offense, is to find these people and bring them to justice before they hurt America again.

Second lesson—this is a different kind of war. First of all, you've got to understand, one, I never dreamt I'd be talking about war as your President when I ran for President. And, two, I wish I wasn't talking about it. I wish this hadn't happened to our country, but it did. And therefore, we must deal with it in a way that leads to a more peaceful America, in a way in which we can look back over time and say our children and grandchildren have a better chance to grow up in a peaceful world—which means we've got to be realistic.

And in a different kind of war, we've got to send signals—say things and mean them, let me put it to you that way. If you say something as the President, you better mean what you say. In order to make this world a more—[*applause*]. In recognizing this is a different kind of war, I said to the Taliban, get rid of Al Qaida in Afghanistan. I meant what I said. And they didn't, and so the United States military did get rid of Al Qaida, as well as Taliban in Afghanistan.

In other words, the Taliban was providing safe haven for these people, and we got rid of the Taliban as a government in Afghanistan and, therefore, denied Al Qaida the chance to train. Al Qaida still exists. About 75 percent of their known leaders have been brought to justice. They're still there, but they no longer have safe haven. And we're safer for it. See, the way these people think is—they're parasitical. They want to be a parasite, and they kind of burrow into weak societies in hopes that they can have—be able to plot and plan. It's the nature of the world we live in. It's different from the past, but nevertheless, it's one that requires clear sight and strong will. And so by removing the Taliban, we're safer. By putting Al Qaida on the run out of Afghanistan, we're safer. We're also safer because Afghanistan is becoming free.

Let me remind you about what life was like there about 3½ short years ago. Young girls couldn't go to school in Afghanistan. Think about that. It's hard for anybody in this country to imagine a group of barbarians that wouldn't let young girls go to school. But that's the way it was. When I'm telling you the ideology of hate, that's what I mean. That's a hateful society, isn't it, where young girls aren't allowed to realize their dreams. Their moms would be pulled out in the public square and whipped if they didn't toe the line. That's the way the Taliban felt.

Today—today, as a result of these people being free, as a result of America acting in its self-interest and freeing the people from the Taliban, 10 million citizens, 41 percent of whom are women, have registered to vote in the upcoming Presidential elections. Powerful statistic, isn't it? It's such an uplifting statistic. The society is going from darkness to light because of freedom. And we're better off for it. We now have an ally in the war on terror. We now have a free society in a part of the world where there needs to be free societies.

These are historic times, and the world is changing. The third lesson is that when we see a threat, we must take it seriously before it fully materializes. You know, prior to September the 11th, we could see a threat overseas and say, well, we could deal with it if we felt like it, or maybe we're not going to deal with it because it can't possibly come to hurt us. Sure enough, there was a large-scale attack on the United States of America on September the 11th, 2001, that has caused me and many in our country to change our attitude about threats overseas.

Audience member. We're praying for you, George!

The President. Thank you, sir. And it's really important—it's important we never forget the lesson. In Iraq, I saw a threat. Saddam Hussein was a threat. He was a threat because he was a sworn enemy of the United States of America. He was a threat because there was terrorist organizations in his country. Abu Nidal, Abu Abbas, Zarqawi—they

were in his country. He was a threat because he had used weapons of mass destruction; is a threat because he had created instability in a volatile part of the world; is a threat because he was firing at our pilots who were enforcing sanctions. He was a threat.

And so I went to the Congress, and I said, "I see a threat. My administration sees a threat." And they looked at the same intelligence I did and came to the same conclusion. I know some of them are trying to rewrite history, but they looked at the same intelligence, and they voted the authorization of force to get rid of Saddam Hussein.

The last option of the President is to use force. It's the last option. So I went to the United Nations in the hopes that diplomacy would work. I was hoping that the free world would convince Saddam Hussein to give up his weapons programs or weapons. And whatever the intelligence said, we wanted him to get rid of it. And so they passed a resolution 15 to nothing, after some deliberation, that said, "Disclose, disarm, or face serious consequences." If you're an international organization and you want to be effective, you better mean what you say. So they said "serious consequences."

Now, Saddam Hussein, as he had done for over a decade, ignored the demands of the free world. That's just the way it was. He was hoping we would look the other way again. He had no intention of disclosing or disarming because he didn't believe the free world would impose serious consequences. As a matter of fact, when they sent inspectors in, he deceived the inspectors. I have a choice to make at this point. Do I take his word as a madman, do I forget the lessons of September the 11th, or take action to defend our country? Given that choice, I will defend America every time. [*Applause*]

Thank you all. Thank you all. A couple of other things—thanks. Thank you all.

Audience member. We love you, George!

The President. Thanks. [*Laughter*] Thank you—hold on for a minute. [*Laughter*] I've got something else to tell you. A couple of other points before people start dropping out because of the heat. [*Laughter*]

The lesson is, is that when you put our troops in harm's way, you give them all the support they need. That's why I went to Congress last September, a year ago, and said, we need $87 billion to support our troops in Afghanistan and Iraq. It's important funding, really important funding. It provided for fuel and ammunition, spare parts, body armor, hazard pay, health benefits. That's important. Fortunately, most Members of the United States Senate and the United States House of Representatives knew how important it was. As a matter of fact, so—the funding was so important, only 12 Senators voted against it—that's 12 out of 100—2 of whom are my opponent and his runningmate.

When you're out rounding the vote—when you're out asking for the vote, remind people of this fact, this fact, that only four United States Senators voted to authorize the use of force and then didn't fund—did not vote "yes" to fund our troops. Four voted to authorize force and then voted "no" when it came to the supplemental funding. Two of those four were my opponent and his runningmate.

So they asked him. They said, "Why?" And he said, "Well, I actually did vote for the $87 billion, before I voted against it." [*Laughter*] Then they went on and pressed him. He said, he's proud of his vote. And finally, he said it was just a complicated matter. [*Laughter*] There's nothing complicated about supporting our troops in combat.

We've got hard work to do in Iraq. The enemy in Iraq cannot beat our military, cannot defeat our military. The main tool they've got is the ability to shake our conscience, to affect our will. You know, we weep when we see a person be beheaded on our TV screens, and we weep for his families. That's what we do, because we've got a conscience in America. We care deeply about every human life. We value human dignity in our society, and the enemy knows that. They know that they can shake our will and break our confidence in the mission. That's why it's very important for us to not send mixed signals to the world, not embolden these people, but remind them that when America gives its word, America will keep its word, that we will stand with the people of Iraq.

I met with the Prime Minister of Iraq yesterday. He's willing to do the hard work, too. He came to our country to thank the American people. He came to our country to thank

the moms and dads and husbands and wives of those who have sacrificed for his freedom and America's security. That's what he came to do. He gave a strong speech. He's a strong man. The fellow—he woke up one night in London, England—he'd been in exile. And there was two people by his bed with axes, sent by Saddam Hussein—seriously—to chop him up. And he survived. And now he's the Prime Minister of that country. He is going to lead this country—no matter how hard it gets—he will lead this country to a better day. He believes in the people of Iraq.

He spoke to the Congress. He gave a great speech to the Congress. He talked about his strategy of defeating the insurgents, of holding the elections in January. This country is going to have elections in January. Afghanistan is going to have them in October, and they'll be held in January. And my opponent chose to criticize the Prime Minister of Iraq. This great man came to our country to talk about how he's risking his life for a free Iraq, which helps America, and Senator Kerry held a press conference and questioned Prime Minister Allawi's credibility. You can't lead this country if your ally in Iraq feels like you question his credibility. The message ought to be to the Iraqi people, we support you. The message ought to be loud and clear: We'll stand with you if you do the hard work.

Earlier this week, my opponent said he would prefer the dictatorship of Saddam Hussein to the situation in Iraq today. You know, I just strongly disagree. It's tough work, no question about it. We've done tough work before. But if Saddam Hussein were in power, our security would be threatened. If Saddam Hussein—in power, there'd still would be mass graves and torture chambers in Iraq. If Saddam Hussein were in power, the world would be better off, not—the world would be worse off, not better off. And so I strongly disagree with the assessment of my opponent. I believe in liberty, and I believe in freedom, and I believe liberty can change lives.

Two other points I want to make now that you got me going. [*Laughter*] We've got great alliances. I talked to Prime Minister Tony Blair this morning, had a great talk with him. He's a good, strong leader. He sees what's happening around the world. He knows, like I know, that Iraq is a central front in the war on terror. We must whip the terrorists in Iraq so we don't have to face them here at home. That's exactly what we're seeing.

Prime Minister Allawi says that; Tony Blair says that; I say that because I understand the stakes for America. And Tony understands the stakes for Great Britain and the free world. We're challenged—being challenged now, and we will rise to the challenge. I will continue to work with allies and friends. You know, I, again, disagree with my opponent who called our alliance the alliance of the coerced and the bribed. You can't build alliances if you criticize the efforts of those who are working side by side with you. So we'll build alliances. But I assure you, I will never turn over America's national security decision to leaders of other countries. [*Applause*]

Okay, one more—a couple more points. First, I want to thank all the veterans who are here. I see we've got some great vets. I want to thank the VFW. Thank you all for your service. Thanks for setting a great example.

So here's one of the things I tell the people that I firmly believe: I believe in the transformational power of liberty. See, I believe liberty can change societies. I believe everybody wants to be free too—10 million people showed up to register to vote after having been brutalized by the Taliban. It's a strong statement. This, by the way, in the face of violence. Those voters are saying, "You're not going to stop me from exercising my right as a free individual."

I visit with Prime Minister Koizumi a lot. I did recently in New York, as a matter of fact, at the U.N. General Assembly. I said, "Do you mind if I talk about you?" He said, "Fine, tell people about me." I said, "Okay." His favorite singer is Elvis. [*Laughter*] Not exactly what I want to tell you about. [*Laughter*] He was—he's the head of Japan, and we were at war with Japan 60 years ago. They were our sworn enemy. My dad fought against the Japanese. I guarantee you, your dads and granddads, husbands, fathers fought against the Japanese as well. And it was a tough war. It was a brutal war.

And after we won, a lot of people were wondering whether or not we should even care about what Japan looked like. Harry S.

Truman—the last guy to visit Janesville, Wisconsin—said yes, we should care. Let's work for a democracy in Japan. You can imagine the skepticism that abounded as a result of trying to work with an enemy. Families' lives have been turned upside down as a result of the brutal war, the tough war. And here was the President of the United States enforcing—a lot of fellow Americans saying no—we're going to help them become a democracy. And as a result of believing that liberty can transform societies, that liberty can take an enemy to a friend, I now sit down at the table with Prime Minister Koizumi, talking about how to keep the peace that we all want. Think about that. Think about the power of liberty.

And that's what's going to happen when we get it right in Iraq. We're going to help the Iraqis have their elections. We'll help them self-govern. We'll help them as much as we can to become a stable nation by training their folks so they can do the hard work of defending themselves against the few—and I say, the few; there are 25 million people in that country, the vast majority of whom want to be free—to defend themselves against those who would stop the march of freedom. And we'll succeed if we do not lose our will, if we do not wilt in the face of hard times. And when we succeed, a duly elected leader of Iraq will be sitting down with the American President, talking about how to keep the peace. And our children and our grandchildren will be better off for it.

I've come to Janesville to tell you I want your vote, I want your help. I know exactly where I want to lead this country. I have the energy and drive to do so. And with your help, we'll carry this great State of Wisconsin and win a great victory in November.

Thank you for coming. May God bless. Thanks for coming.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:42 p.m. at the Janesville Conference Center. In his remarks, he referred to Janna Ryan, wife of Representative Paul Ryan; Dave Magnum, candidate for Congress in Wisconsin's 2d Congressional District; Tim Michels, senatorial candidate in Wisconsin; senior Al Qaida associate Abu Musab Al Zarqawi; Prime Minister Ayad Allawi of the Iraqi Interim Government; and Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi of Japan.

Proclamation 7820—Family Day, 2004

September 24, 2004

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

During this time of great change in our Nation, we remain dedicated to the fundamental American values of courage and compassion, reverence and integrity, and respect for others. On Family Day, we affirm our commitment to strengthening America's families and supporting them as they work to raise healthy and responsible children.

Strong families help young people take responsibility, understand the consequences of their actions, and recognize that the decisions they make today could affect the rest of their lives. By spending time with their children, parents prepare them to realize a bright future.

It should always be a goal of government to encourage marriage and strengthen families. My 2005 budget proposal includes more than $290 million in funding for programs that support healthy marriages, research and demonstration projects on family formation, and initiatives to promote responsible fatherhood.

We have made significant progress over the past decade in helping our young people make the right choices. Smoking and illicit drug use have declined among youth, teen birth rates have fallen to the lowest levels ever recorded, and violent crime among teenagers has decreased dramatically. My Administration is also supporting families by encouraging character education in schools to help children develop a sense of responsibility to their communities. We are advancing abstinence-only education programs to help reduce the number of teen pregnancies and teenagers contracting sexually transmitted diseases, and we are promoting school drug testing to identify kids who need help. When parents, schools, and government work together, we can counter the negative influences in today's culture and send a positive message to our youth.

Families instill the essential values we live by. By supporting them, we make America a better and more hopeful place.

Now, Therefore, I, George W. Bush, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim September 27, 2004, as Family Day. I call on the people of the United States to observe this day by engaging in activities that honor the relationship between parents and children and help keep our young people healthy and safe.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-fourth day of September, in the year of our Lord two thousand four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-ninth.

George W. Bush

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 9:04 a.m., September 27, 2004]

NOTE: This proclamation will be published in the *Federal Register* on September 28.

Presidential Determination on Eligibility of the African Union To Receive Defense Articles and Services Under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as Amended, and the Arms Export Control Act, as Amended

September 24, 2004

Presidential Determination No. 2004–50

Memorandum for the Secretary of State

Subject: Presidential Determination on Eligibility of the African Union to Receive Defense Articles and Services Under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as Amended, and the Arms Export Control Act, as Amended

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the laws of the United States, including section 503(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and section 3(a)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act, as amended, I hereby find that the furnishing of defense articles and services to the African Union will strengthen the security of the United States and promote world peace.

You are authorized and directed to report this finding to the Congress and to publish it in the *Federal Register*.

George W. Bush

Memorandum on Determination To Make Available Assistance for Sudan

September 24, 2004

Presidential Determination No. 2004–51

Memorandum for the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Defense, the Administrator, United States Agency for International Development

Subject: Determination to Make Available Assistance for Sudan

Consistent with the authority vested in me by the Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act for Defense and for the Reconstruction of Iraq and Afghanistan, 2004 (Public Law 108–106), under the heading "International Disaster and Famine Assistance," I hereby determine that it is in the national interest of the United States and essential to efforts to reduce international terrorism to furnish $20 million in assistance for Sudan from funds made available under that heading.

The Secretary of State is authorized and directed to report this determination to the Congress and to arrange for its publication in the *Federal Register*.

George W. Bush

Memorandum on Certification Permitting Rescission of Iraq as a Sponsor of Terrorism

September 24, 2004

Presidential Determination No. 2004–52

Memorandum for the Secretary of State

Subject: Certification Permitting Rescission of Iraq as a Sponsor of Terrorism

On September 13, 1990, Acting Secretary of State Eagleburger designated Iraq as a

state sponsor of terrorism (55 *Fed. Reg.* 37793–01).

Consistent with section 6(j)(4)(A) of the Export Administration Act of 1979, Public Law 96–72, as amended, and as continued in effect by Executive Order 13222 of August 17, 2001, 66 *Fed. Reg.* 44025, I hereby certify that:

(1) There has been a fundamental change in the leadership and policies of the Government of Iraq;

(2) Iraq's government is not supporting acts of international terrorism; and

(3) Iraq's government has provided assurances that it will not support acts of international terrorism in the future.

Accordingly, the prerequisites for your determination to rescind Iraq's designation as a state sponsor of terrorism will be satisfied once you have transmitted this certification to the Congress.

This certification shall also satisfy the provisions of section 620A(c)(1) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, Public Law 87–195, as amended, and section 40(f)(1)(A) of the Arms Export Control Act, Public Law 90–629, as amended.

You are authorized and directed to report this certification to the Congress and to arrange for its publication in the *Federal Register*.

George W. Bush

Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives Transmitting a Budget Amendment for the Department of Energy

September 24, 2004

Dear Mr. Speaker:

I ask the Congress to consider the enclosed FY 2005 budget amendment for the Department of Energy. This amendment replaces a previous amendment transmitted September 7, 2004, and would not increase the discretionary budget authority proposed in my FY 2005 Budget.

The details of this proposal are set forth in the enclosed letter from the Director of the Office of Management and Budget.

Sincerely,

George W. Bush

NOTE: An original was not available for verification of the content of this letter.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

The following list includes the President's public schedule and other items of general interest announced by the Office of the Press Secretary and not included elsewhere in this issue.

September 18

In the morning, in Kennebunkport, ME, the President had an intelligence briefing.

The President declared a major disaster in Georgia and ordered Federal aid to supplement State and local recovery efforts in the area struck by Hurricane Ivan beginning on September 14 and continuing.

The President declared a major disaster in North Carolina and ordered Federal aid to supplement State and local recovery efforts in the area struck by Hurricane Ivan beginning on September 16 and continuing.

September 19

In the morning, the President traveled to Pensacola, FL, where he toured the area damaged by Hurricane Ivan on September 13 and continuing.

Later in the morning, the President traveled to Orange Beach, AL, where he took a helicopter tour of the area damaged by Hurricane Ivan on September 13 and continuing. He then took a walking tour of the area.

In the afternoon, the President returned to Washington, DC.

The President declared a major disaster in Pennsylvania and ordered Federal aid to supplement Commonwealth and local recovery efforts in the area struck by severe storms and flooding associated with Tropical Storm Frances on September 8–9.

The President declared a major disaster in Pennsylvania and ordered Federal aid to supplement Commonwealth and local recovery efforts in the area struck by Tropical Depression Ivan beginning on September 17 and continuing.

September 20

In the morning, the President had an intelligence briefing.

In the afternoon, the President traveled to Derry, NH. Later, he traveled to New York City, where, upon arrival, he met with USA Freedom Corps volunteer Caroline Hepner. He was also joined by Mrs. Bush.

The President announced his intention to nominate Susan L. Moore to be U.S. Alternate Representative to the 59th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The President announced his intention to appoint Charles J. Chaput and Michael Lewis Cromartie as members of the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom.

The President declared a major disaster in West Virginia and ordered Federal aid to supplement State and local recovery efforts in the area struck by severe storms, flooding, and landslides on September 16 and continuing.

September 21

In the morning, the President had an intelligence briefing.

In the afternoon, at the Waldorf-Astoria, the President met with Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi of Japan. Later, he met with President Hamid Karzai of Afghanistan. He then met with President Karzai and President Pervez Musharraf of Pakistan.

In the evening, at the Waldorf-Astoria, the President and Mrs. Bush met with Sister Nirmala, Superior General of the Missionaries of Charity.

September 22

In the morning, the President had an intelligence briefing. Later, at the Waldorf-Astoria, he met with President Pervez Musharraf of Pakistan. He then participated in an interview with Bill O'Reilly of FOX News, for later broadcast.

Later in the morning, the President and Mrs. Bush traveled to King of Prussia, PA, where, upon arrival, he met with USA Freedom Corps volunteer Shannon Hickey.

In the afternoon, the President traveled to Millvale, PA. Prior to arrival in Millvale, he took a helicopter tour of the area damaged by Tropical Depression Ivan on September 17 and continuing. Later, he traveled to Latrobe, PA, where, upon arrival, he met with USA Freedom Corps volunteer Bob Scheidemantel.

In the evening, the President returned to Washington, DC.

September 23

In the morning, the President had an intelligence briefing. He then met with Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld and Gen. John P. Abizaid, USA, combatant commander, U.S. Central Command.

In the afternoon, the President traveled to Bangor, ME, where, upon arrival, he met with USA Freedom Corps volunteer Bill Knight. Later, he returned to Washington, DC.

The President announced his intention to nominate Ryan C. Crocker to be Ambassador to Pakistan.

The President announced his intention to nominate Marcie B. Ries to be Ambassador to Albania.

The President announced his intention to nominate Buddie J. Penn to be an Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Installations and Environment).

The President announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to be members of the National Science Board: Dan Arvizu, Steven C. Beering, Gerald Wayne Clough, Kelvin Kay Droegemeier, Louis J. Lanzerotti, Alan I. Leshner, Jon C. Strauss, and Kathryn D. Sullivan.

The President announced his intention to designate Edwin Pinero as the Federal Environmental Executive at the Environmental Protection Agency.

The President declared a major disaster in Vermont and ordered Federal aid to supplement State and local recovery efforts in the area struck by severe storms and flooding on August 12 through September 12.

September 24

In the morning, the President had an intelligence briefing. Later, in an Oval Office ceremony, he participated in the swearing-in of Porter J. Goss as Director of Central Intelligence.

Later in the morning, the President traveled to Janesville, WI. Later, he traveled to Racine, WI, where he participated in a Victory 2004 rally at General John J. Pershing Park.

In the evening, the President traveled to the Bush Ranch in Crawford, TX.

The President declared a major disaster in Georgia and ordered Federal aid to supplement State and local recovery efforts in the area struck by Tropical Storm Frances beginning on September 3 and continuing.

Nominations Submitted to the Senate

The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

Submitted September 20

Jesus H. Delgado-Jenkins,
of Illinois, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, vice Teresa M. Ressel, resigned.

Beryl A. Howell,
of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the U.S. Sentencing Commission for the remainder of the term expiring October 31, 2005, vice Diana E. Murphy, resigned.

Susan L. Moore,
of Texas, to be an Alternate Representative of the United States of America to the 59th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Submitted September 21

William A. Moorman,
of Virginia, to be a Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for Veterans Claims for the term of 15 years, vice Kenneth B. Kramer, term expired.

Submitted September 23

Dan Arvizu,
of Colorado, to be a member of the National Science Board, National Science Foundation for a term expiring May 10, 2010, vice Maxine L. Savitz, term expired.

Steven C. Beering,
of Indiana, to be a member of the National Science Board, National Science Foundation for a term expiring May 10, 2010 (reappointment).

Gerald Wayne Clough,
of Georgia, to be a member of the National Science Board, National Science Foundation for a term expiring May 10, 2010, vice Anita K. Jones, term expired.

Ryan C. Crocker,
of Washington, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Career Minister, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

Kelvin Kay Droegemeier,
of Oklahoma, to be a member of the National Science Board, National Science Foundation for a term expiring May 10, 2010, vice Robert C. Richardson, term expired.

Louis J. Lanzerotti,
of New Jersey, to be a member of the National Science Board, National Science Foundation for a term expiring May 10, 2010, vice George M. Langford, term expired.

Alan I. Leshner,
of Maryland, to be a member of the National Science Board, National Science Foundation for a term expiring May 10, 2010, vice Luis Sequeira, term expired.

Buddie J. Penn,
of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Navy, vice H.T. Johnson.

Marcie B. Ries,
of the District of Columbia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Albania.

Jon C. Strauss,
of California, to be a member of the National Science Board, National Science Foundation for a term expiring May 10, 2010, vice Joseph A. Miller, Jr., term expired.

Kathryn D. Sullivan,
of Ohio, to be a member of the National Science Board, National Science Foundation for a term expiring May 10, 2010, vice Pamela A. Ferguson.

Checklist of White House Press Releases

The following list contains releases of the Office of the Press Secretary that are neither printed as items nor covered by entries in the Digest of Other White House Announcements.

Released September 18

Statement by the Press Secretary on disaster assistance to Georgia

Statement by the Press Secretary on disaster assistance to North Carolina

Released September 19

Statement by the Press Secretary on disaster assistance to Pennsylvania

Statement by the Press Secretary on disaster assistance to Pennsylvania

Released September 20

Transcript of a press gaggle by Press Secretary Scott McClellan

Statement by the Press Secretary on accomplishments in the efforts to combat Libyan weapons of mass destruction programs

Statement by the Press Secretary on disaster assistance to West Virginia

Released September 22

Transcript of a press gaggle by Press Secretary Scott McClellan

Fact sheet: America's Teachers: Fulfilling the Promise of No Child Left Behind

Released September 23

Statement by the Press Secretary on disaster assistance to Vermont

Released September 24

Transcript of a press gaggle by Press Secretary Scott McClellan

Statement by the Press Secretary announcing that the President signed H.R. 361, H.R. 3908, H.R. 5008, S. 1576

Statement by the Press Secretary on disaster assistance to Georgia

Acts Approved by the President

Approved September 24

H.R. 361 / Public Law 108–304
Sports Agent Responsibility and Trust Act

H.R. 3908 / Public Law 108–305
To provide for the conveyance of the real property located at 1081 West Main Street in Ravenna, Ohio

H.R. 5008 / Public Law 108–306
To provide an additional temporary extension of programs under the Small Business Act and the Small Business Investment Act of 1958 through September 30, 2004, and for other purposes

S. 1576 / Public Law 108–307
Harpers Ferry National Historical Park Boundary Revision Act of 2004

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